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Russian Ministry Opposes Scientists' Hiring

OW2101183292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1600 GMT 21 Jan 92

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" (DP) feature; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Russian Foreign Ministry does not have hard evidence that Libya had offered fat contracts to some of the Soviet nuclear physicists employed at the Moscow-based Kurchatov Nuclear Research Institute. However, the ministry would not deny the world press' reports to this effect.

According to a high-ranking diplomat, the lack of information does not signify that the Russian Foreign Ministry "is turning a blind eye on the situation." The Russian diplomatic community believes that all required efforts should be taken to prevent hiring Russian nuclear physicists by a foreign country. The Russian Foreign Ministry staffer DP [Diplomatic Panorama] talked with gave to understand that this position is official.

Measures Outlined To Prevent Brain Drain

OW2001155192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1345 GMT 20 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] What can prevent nuclear technology leaks from Russia through immigrant scientists is exchanges of information between countries and the setting up of an international fund to support fundamental sciences, said Russia's Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev in answer to IF's [INTERFAX] correspondent's question about Western concern over the consequences of the possible brain drain from the former Soviet republics.

A. Kozyrev proceeds from the assumption that his country will not relapse into totalitarianism when people were forbidden to go abroad. The Russian foreign minister said that during his meeting with his German counterpart Hans-Dietrich Genscher on January 15 he came out with two proposals to resolve this problem.

"It is necessary to enable the states to know who goes and where", said A. Kozyrev. "I also sugested that an international fund should be set up to support fundamental sciences thanks to which our nuclear physicists and other scientists would not be placed financially in a position compelling them to leave", said the head of Russian diplomacy.

"We should join our efforts in this area where there are broad opportunities for cooperation", he said.

Further on Recruitment of Nuclear Scientists

PM1701160992 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 2208 GMT 15 Jan 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast: Report by V. Glusker and N. Kepko]

[Text] The world is continuing to discuss the possibility of a nuclear threat from the territory of the former USSR. It is already clear to many today that it is not so much a question of controlling the nuclear button as of the danger that the process of the transfer of Soviet technology to dictatorial regimes could develop rapidly. In other words, a brain drain.

[Glusker] The West believes that there is a problem of the uncontrollable proliferation of nuclear weapons, and in a form not envisaged by any treaties—through the brain drain. This question is also being cautiously raised within the former Union, although it is instantly dropped again. For example, IZVESTIYA believes that no concrete, material evidence of a brain drain has been discovered here. However, what do people directly connected with this problem have to say? Here are some interviews outside the famous Lebedev Physics Institute, where Andrey Sakharov used to work.

[First unidentified man] We think that the bulk of really good scientists will leave as soon as they can.

[Second unidentified man] Scientific staffers are the real property of the Academy of Sciences—not tables, cupboards, chairs, or computers ultimately. The people who are being subjected to cuts are those who can do a good job, people with expertise, experience.

[Glusker] Young people are at a crossroads too, their future is uncertain.

[Third unidentified man] Time will tell. For the moment nothing is clear.

Role of Third World Viewed

PM2201092892 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 21 Jan 92 p 1

[Unattributed report citing French newspaper LIBERATION: "A Bomb for al-Qadhdhafi?"]

[Text] The possible flight of Soviet nuclear scientists abroad represents a greater danger than the leak of radioactive substances from the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Station—that is how the newspaper LIBERATION, which is close to the French Government, today comments on the threat of proliferation of nuclear weapons arising from the breakup of the USSR.

Several thousand talented scientists and highly skilled technicians who possess what were formerly well-guarded secrets are now deprived of their former privileges. Soviet nuclear scientists have nothing left but their very valuable scientific baggage and applied knowledge.

They could soon be using all this in the developing countries. Citing leaders of the Kurchatov Nuclear Research Institute, the newspaper points out that agents of the Libyan leader Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi have already invited two staffers of the institute to continue their research in Libya for $2,000 a month. Fortunately the scientists turned down this proposal.

But the risk of Soviet nuclear scientists turning up in "Third World" countries is very real, in the view of Francois Heisbourg, director of the London International Institute of Strategic Studies. In an interview for LIBERATION he proposed that highly trusted specialists be used in the elimination of Soviet nuclear weapons, to prevent the spread of nuclear technology.

Proliferation Threat Assessed

PM2101151392 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Jan 92 p 4

["My Opinion" commentary by Anatoliy Karpychev, incoporating interviews with V.N. Mikhaylov, deputy minister of the former USSR Ministry of Atomic Power and Industry, and A.Yu. Gagarinskiy, executive secretary of the Soviet Nuclear Society; place and date not given: "Will We Save Our Nuclear Specialists' Souls?"—last two paragraphs are accompanying TASS report]

[Text] After the military, it is evidently the turn of nuclear scientists and all those employed in nuclear weapons production to go through "hell"—the breakup of the USSR.

On the one hand, Western politicians and military officers suspect that, given the chaos in the former Soviet Union, those people can find work in so-called Third World countries and help "ambitious governments" develop an atomic bomb. On the other, our new governments have reduced scientists to such a pitiful state that tomorrow they will be forced to choose between poverty at home and recognition abroad and will therefore agree to any offer worthy of their honor and knowledge.

We cannot hide from this problem as we hid for many years the names of talented scientists in possession of secrets. It would be as well for the Russian president and the governments of the Commonwealth's independent states to examine this problem since it has made its presence felt so loudly...That is not merely my wish...Because while we retain our Olympian calm, rumors are growing about the buying and selling of our nuclear scientists, forming the plot of a whodunnit.

Well, Libya, for instance, has supposedly tried to recruit a couple of personnel from the well-known Kurchatov Institute, but these people took the offer of wages of $2,000 per month and turned it down (and they were right to do so; it's a pittance). Then a report appeared that plutonium bearing the USSR's mark had been seized in Italy and that this was the raw material for a nuclear weapon. Indian newspapers in turn reported that the United States would stop five of our specialists going to India because they know strategic secrets.

Naturally, the Western special services have begun to be concerned. The CIA drafted a report for legislators voicing alarm at the "nuclear brain drain" from the USSR. It is being said that a department has even been created in the CIA to keep an eye on our nuclear specialists' travels and movements. The problem has become so hot that Western leaders intend to broach the new "Soviet threat" during their talks with Russian President Boris Yeltsin when he visits Washington in late January.

What has caused this problem?

In principle the problem has always existed, but it came to light following the breakup of the USSR insofar as nuclear scientists may be left without a job. There has always been interest in their work—and moreover not only from Iran, or Pakistan, Libya, Iraq, and those countries that are now said to be persistently seeking contacts with our scientists and offering them the "sweet life" in exchange for an atomic bomb. Talented scientists have always gone abroad. The policy of "hang onto them and do not let them go" is long out of date. According to preliminary studies carried out in the United States, up to 50,000 U.S. employers, various firms, companies, laboratories, and universities among them, may be interested in qualified scientific cadres from the USSR—physicists, chemists, mathematicians, etc. Talented Russians are being sought out. The name of a company, Kaiser Research, recently caught my eye. It monitors the successful contenders and winners of virtually every scientific competition held in various countries of the world and with its help many firms acquire skills, including from the USSR. Today you can find our specialists in Cambridge lecture halls and Silicon Valley's computer laboratories. Five out of six professorial posts at Minnesota's Institute of Theoretical Physics, which is jokingly called "Moscow on Mississippi," are held by natives of Russia. Many of our scientists are working on contract.

All this is a mute reproach to us as we lose our talented specialists. The Americans willingly agree to take clever people (fools are of no interest to them) since they effectively get a ready-made specialist and do not have to spend money on training. The specialist is, as it were, born there "ready-made," while we have spent the money. A new subdivision even appeared quite recently within the U.S. Administration—a committee on problems involved in utilizing Soviet scientists. We should have a committee in the Russian Administration for problems involved in utilizing talented scientists...so as to really support them at a difficult time. After all, the heroes' stars with which the state honors their work are worthless now. So, when I hear that a scientist is leaving, I say: "Very well, let him go, he'll meet up with his colleagues." You must not think that he is not a patriot.

CIA documents quote a statement by V.N. Mikhaylov, former USSR deputy minister of atomic power engineering and industry. Here it is: "I can say with complete certainty that my colleagues are patriots and have no intention of going abroad to develop nuclear weapons for anyone...But, on the other hand, how is a man who has worked in a ministry that developed nuclear weapons to live on wages of 400 rubles (roughly $9) per month-...What can a man do who has only known how to develop atomic bombs?"

After "congratulating" Viktor Nikitovich Mikhaylov on being quoted by the CIA, I asked his opinion about the problem of the "nuclear brain drain" and control over nuclear weapons proliferation here at home.

[Mikhaylov] Well, I didn't convert the wages into dollars, they did this at their own discretion. People are not fleeing the nuclear weapons complex. There are, needless to say, unscrupulous people who may want to make something out of our difficulties, but they are not scientists.

[Karpychev] Won't your sector collapse with the breakup of the USSR? As I see it, that must not be allowed, since the consequences are unpredictable....

[Mikhaylov] I think that the Ministry of Atomic Power Engineering and Industry should be preserved as a Russian ministry. Approximately 80 percent of its enterprises are in Russia. There must be state, centralized control so as to prevent the buying and selling of secrets and prevent the proliferation of nuclear technologies. This is not an area in which the state should relax its control. As for the Commonwealth states, we could act with them on the basis of agreements. That's logical since we must maintain the standard of our technologies together.

[Karpychev] What comment would you pass on the report from Italy that our plutonium was being sold there?

[Mikhaylov] I don't know about any sale. We keep account down to fractions of a milligram...I am talking about the plutonium required to develop nuclear weapons. We are setting up concerns within the ministry framework in some areas that service the main tasks; but that has nothing to do with plutonium [Po otdelnym napravleniyam, obsluzhivayushchim glavnyye zadachi, u nas sozdayutsya kontserny v ramkakh ministerstva; no k plutoniyu eto otnosheniya ne imeyet]. [Mikhaylov ends]

I had another conversation about the problem with Dr. of Mathematicophysical Sciences Andrey Yuryevich Gagarinskiy, executive secretary of the Soviet Nuclear Society.

[Karpychev] Is it true that the Libyans have recruited scientists from the Kurchatov Institute?

[Gagarinskiy] No, it's not...As the institute's deputy director I can say that with certainty. I can also say that during the late seventies a nuclear research center was built in Libya with our help. It tackles peaceful problems. Our scientists go there regularly.

[Karpychev] Do you think that our scientists, if they go abroad, can be of considerable help to interested states in developing an atomic bomb?

[Gagarinskiy] Our people are attracted to working abroad. We are not only cooperating with Libya. Scientists go to Western countries, they are interested in one another. But I think the situation in our science is now critical. Production is more or less socially protected. Science is not. Science is encountering tremendous difficulties. Right now it has to have very strong nerves-....[Gagarinskiy ends]

In my view, there is a reason for everything...This hullabaloo included. I believe that the aim is, first, to create the impression of even greater instability in the former Soviet Union. Second, to prepare our public for various surprises, particularly when it comes to allocating money for military requirements. This is an old approach, but no other has as yet been devised. And, third, given the instability in our country, why not try to lay a hand—either in the form of international supervision or concern for our scientists—on the assets we possess in the nuclear sphere?

Be that as it may, the upsurge of emotion over our scientists, with the claim that they are willing to serve whoever you like wherever you like, and sell off the fatherland's property, is immoral.

STOP PRESS...

San Francisco, 20 Jan— THE SAN FRANCISCO EXAMINER reported that a conference entitled "Nuclear Weapons Proliferation and the End of the Soviet Empire" at the Lawrence Livermore Radiation Laboratory in Livermore (California) was devoted to the problem of the "brain drain" from the former Soviet Union and the resulting increased danger of nuclear weapons proliferation in Third World countries.

Various courses of action in the prevailing situation were considered. One being to organize financial aid and formulate programs to support the conversion of the former Soviet Union's military industry. It was said that U.S. aid to Commonwealth of Independent States countries should depend on the extent to which they can "control their scientists possessing experience of nuclear developments." The conference voiced the idea of introducing tough controls on exports of technology and equipment to Third World countries that could be used to develop or test an atomic bomb.

Geneva Delegate Cited on Weapons' Elimination

LD2001134192 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1430 GMT 14 Jan 92

[Text] In Geneva's Palais de Nations, where a session of the UN Disarmament Conference is under way, people are following with great anxiety the political squabbling within our Commonwealth over the command of the immense combat potential of the erstwhile Soviet Union. Our correspondent Farid Seyful-Mulyukov reports:

At issue are not only the strategic nuclear missiles, which will be under unified control, but also the tens of thousands of other weapons of mass destruction that have accumulated inside the collapsed Soviet empire, and the destiny of the thousands of first-class specialists in our military-industrial complex who, being threatened with unemployment, could become the quarry of adventurist regimes. Ultimately, how will the whole process of disarmament develop in these new conditions in the world? Who will implement the international agreements reached by Moscow on the reduction of nuclear and conventional weapons, and how?

In the opinion of the representatives of many states at the Geneva disarmament talks, the agreements from Alma-Ata and Minsk do not provide clear answers to all these questions.

Sergey Batsanov, Russia's representative at the Geneva conference, said in conversation with your correspondent that if members of the Commonwealth are going to continue their lengthy disputes concerning division of the immense military legacy of the erstwhile Soviet Union, this will quite likely have a negative effect on the global disarmament process. My colleagues abroad," Batsanov continued, are constantly expressing this concern. First and foremost, of course, it is essential to determine within the framework of the Commonwealth a precise schedule and the conditions for implementation of the America-Soviet treaty on radical cuts in offensive nuclear weapons. However, neither must we lose sight of the other acute problems of disarmament, for example, the elimination of chemical weapons.

According to information quoted by Sergey Batsanov at a news conference in Geneva for foreign journalists, around 40,000 tonnes of chemical weapons are concentrated on Russian territory. This is the gravest legacy left it by the Soviet military monster. How are these mountains of toxic materials to be destroyed safely? The erstwhile center did nothing to prepare for the elimination of the chemical weapons, Sergey Batsanov noted.

The UN General Assembly passed a resolution on the completion of the Geneva talks on chemical weapons this year. They are moving ahead successfully, the representative of Russia, the legal successor of the USSR at the Geneva conference, noted. Of course, the Russian leadership, Sergey Batsanov stressed, does have many other urgent domestic and international problems, but the problem of the elimination of chemical weapons cannot be cast aside or left in the pending tray. This affects the security of Russia and the whole Commonwealth, and security throughout the world.

Future of Atomic Power Industry Assessed

PM2201103792 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Jan 92 p 3

[Article by Yuriy Stepanov, leading specialists of the Committee for Industry and Power Engineering: "We Shall Split Everything. Even the Atom?"]

[Text] The country's nuclear department, still officially called the USSR Ministry of Atomic Power and Industry, is, with the facile hand of the journalists' fraternity, presented to the reader mainly as a gigantic military-industrial monster devouring the tastiest morsels of the state budget and which, in "gratitude" for this, has stuffed the country with nuclear warheads, constructed Chernobyl and Chelyabinsk, which covered several oblasts in lethal clouds, has shaken the planet with its test explosions at nuclear testing ranges, and so on and so forth. And there is no nobler task than driving the nuclear genie back into the bottle, stopping it up, and hiding it somewhere far, far away and deep down for a long time. And it is no secret that these proposals were the crux of the election campaigns of a number of candidate people's deputies of all levels and enabled many of them to obtain parliamentary seats. But the deputy's flag is a heavy burden and the moment comes to make state decisions and the burden of responsibility requires a balanced approach toward them, a reassessment of existing stereotypes, and personal involvement in the problem.

It was probably for that reason that there was a meeting between a large group of people's deputies representing the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Industry and Power Engineering and the leadership of the USSR Ministry of Atomic Power and Industry. The meeting took place in the ministry and was like an out of town session of the committee. And although the committee's decision sounded in protocol terms like "taking into consideration...," essentially there was talk of decisions which will determine the fate of the atomic sector in sovereign Russia. And whatever was said or written there, it is an enormous resource. The RSFSR's share is 63.7 percent of the fixed production capital and 80 percent of enterprises are in Russia and 90 percent of scientific institutions are also Russian. And the sector's leaders are prepared to put at Russia's service this entire very powerful complex of mining, construction, and machine building enterprises, augmented by a unique scientific and planning potential. The main request supported also by the labor collectives is not to chop up the sector, to retain the unity of the nuclear power complex, to proceed from the need to maintain a high level of strategic defense, to prevent the uncontrolled dissemination of fissionable materials in accordance with the USSR's international commitments. At the same time there is a readiness within the framework of existing political decisions to effect the most in-depth conversion of the nuclear weapons subsector which, counter to the ideas which have been disseminated, accounts for only 25 percent of overall production volume, although the entire nuclear warheads production cycle is concentrated virtually entirely on Russian territory.

And here a question was asked which cannot fail to be asked regarding nuclear test explosions. The answer came: "The complete cessation of test explosions is unilateral disarmament and it is impossible to model a nuclear explosion." And in my opinion it was the first time that the explanation was heard that the test explosions are carried out today not so much and not only to monitor the weapons we possess but also to a considerable degree to test the systems of antiweapon weapons [protivooruzhiye] and to seek methods of neutralizing (destroying) the nuclear weapons of a potential enemy, as they say, and, on the other hand, to elaborate systems for defense against this influence.

If we are to define succinctly the position of the nuclear scientists in the arms sphere, it is following in the wake of foreign policy—in the light of today's realities—of Russian policy.

Then talk turned to nuclear power engineering and that is 30 percent of the sector's potential—46 power units with a total capacity of 36 million kilowatts, which generate 12.5 percent of all electricity. But that is, as they say, the average temperature, and in specific regions AES's [nuclear electric power stations] account for up to 70 percent of the electricity supply. That is today, and the Rostov AES and the Voronezh and Gorkiy nuclear thermal power stations are ready for commissioning tomorrow while reactors with internal safety and underground AES's are ready for commissioning the day after tomorrow. But since meetings politics prevail in our country, the Ministry of Atomic Power and Industry is prepared for a second conversion. As long as Russia does not find itself in the position of Armenia, which is imploring the ministry to return its AES to operation more quickly. And the people's deputies already know that Russia's Energy Program will not work without AES's—the fuel sectors are reducing the production of energy resources, a war has also been declared on hydroelectric power stations, and if even energy saving in Russia is up to world standards, there will be no balance between electricity consumption and the generation of electricity and the beggarly consumption of energy per capita implies a beggarly standard of living. The fate of the year 2000 must be resolved today, tomorrow it will be too late. I can imagine full well that the nuclear scientists will then be "marginalized" and they will be accused of failing to prove, failing to demand, failing to sound the alarm.

Let us return to today. The 46 power units at the AES's, the large number of reactors on submarines and surface ships, including civilian ships. Their operation is ensured by a closed technological cycle from the extraction of natural uranium to the processing of the used fuel with the extraction from it of uncombusted uranium, plutonium, and several isotopes with the subsequent isolation and burial of radioactive waste.

The weakest link in the nuclear fuel cycle is the conservation of reactors which have served their purpose and the burial of waste. There are plenty of very serious complaints leveled against the Ministry of Atomic Power and Industry in this field. This whole problem requires legislative formulation and here the Russian Supreme Soviet committee for ecology and the use of nature, whose "portfolio" includes draft laws on the burial of nuclear waste, radiation safety, and the status of territories, stands guard over the interests of society. The plans of the committee for industry and power engineering include an RSFSR draft law "on the use of nuclear energy," which will define the legal aspects and economic mechanisms of the sector's development. One of the main sections of this law should be a chapter on benefits and compensation for the population living in the observation zone of AES's and other nuclear establishments.

Nonetheless what is the Ministry of Atomic Power and Industry today and tomorrow? As a whole and for Russia? The Ministry of Atomic Power and Industry is a powerful construction and installation industry (3 billion rubles [R] of construction and installation work a year) capable of performing all types of work from planning to the installation of "turnkey" equipment for any establishment. It is an industry for the production of sanitary war and modern decorating materials which could be worth R1.2 billion in 1995.

The hobby of the Ministry of Atomic Power and Industry is the production, on the basis of unique manufacturing methods, of strategic materials like tungtsen, tin, molybdenum, tantalum, manganese dioxide, and rare-earth metals. On the basis of the use of substances and compounds which it extracts and processes the production is developing of science-intensive items which have no analogs in the country: ozone-friendly aerosols, the motorists' dream of nickel-cadmium batteries with a life of 10 years, and automobile catalytic converters [neytralizatory vykhlopnykh gazov avtomobiley].

One avenue of conversion of production in the nuclear industry will be the production of microelectronics articles, computer and automation facilities, and fiber optic equipment.

The Ministry of Atomic Power and Industry and milk processing. That is an entirely sound combination. The sector is the head one in the production of equipment for these purposes and plans by 1995 to create 400 new types of manufacturing equipment.

"Polaroid" type cameras produced by the Ministry of Atomic Power and Industry and laser record players and disks are already in the stores. They will be followed by microwave ovens, video and audio recorders, and so forth. In 1995 the Ministry of Atomic Power and Industry plans to produce general-purpose output worth R12 billion. The department will also swell the hard currency coffers. For 1991 the profit from foreign economic activity will be $650 million (not counting electricity and gold).

Our country accounts for half the known world stocks of uranium (2 million tonnes). That is why the Ministry of Atomic Power and Industry has entered the world market with a very high-class product. But our quota is only 5-6 percent. In our opinion the objective share of our uranium exports should accord with the production potential and the requirements of the civilized international market...

Summing up the results, committee chairman Alvin Yeremin confirmed that the legislators share the position regarding the conservation of the unity of Russia's atomic complex with possible integration within the framework of interstate agreements with other CIS members. It is necessary to adopt a principled concept for the development of Russia's fuel and energy complex, determining the place of atomic power engineering in it. There is support for the government's proposal to create an RSFSR State Committee for atomic power and to form the "Sredmash" state corporation, open to all republics of the former USSR.

Security Council Recommends Kazakhstan for UN

LD2201102192 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 22 Jan 92

[Text] Kazakhstan has been recommended for membership in the United Nations. Such a decision was taken unanimously on Tuesday [21 January] by the Security Council Committee on the admission of new members. The final decision is with the General Assembly. Armenia, Krygyzstan, and Uzbekistan have also requested admission to the United Nations.

Shevardnadze Reviews Career, Market Reforms

AU2101230092 Vienna ORF Television Network in German 2007 GMT 21 Jan 92

[Interview with former Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze by Regina Strassegger in Moscow; date not given; Shevardnadze speaks in Russian with superimposed German translation—recorded]

[Text] [Strassegger] There are certain hints in your book. You mentioned hindrances to your foreign policy, for example. What did you mean by that?

[Shevardnadze] My resignation was apparently so unusual that this question persists. Pressure from the right played little role in my protest, however. I could have stayed in office and simply issued a warning against dictatorship. This would not have been sufficient. My resignation roused the reformers and made them join forces again. There were certainly other factors as well that had changed the political landscape. I was accused of having damaged the security policy of our country by abandoning the policy of strength. East Europe was considered our security belt for decades. Old thinking is deeply rooted. I believe that the August coup would have ended completely differently if the reformers had not joined forces after my resignation.

[Strassegger] How do you explain the fact that the trial against the putschists has not even begun? Do you think that this might be linked with persistent rumors that Mikhail Gorbachev played a dubious role in this regard? Do you see a connection?

[Shevardnadze] As far as Gorbachev is concerned, the trial against the putschists will clarify everything. I do not believe at this point that he was involved in the preparations for the coup. I must admit, however, that I had this impression at the beginning. After all, his closest aides carried out the coup. I thought that it was impossible for them to do such a thing without his silent approval. After his return, I discussed this matter with Gorbachev. I could see for myself that he did not know anything about it. The fast pace of developments proved this. He himself was pushed aside completely.

[Strassegger] Let me ask you one more question about the past. Your return as foreign minister on 11 November last year came as a surprise. What was the reason for your decision? Was it a correct decision in view of the present situation?

[Shevardnadze] At the time, we did not believe that everything would happen so quickly. Personally, I proceeded from the assumption that a union of independent states would be established at some point in the future, at a later date, but not so quickly. I not only believed that, but so did all the presidents with whom I discussed my return to the position of foreign minister. Yeltsin may have had some kind of presentiment. Gorbachev, as well as Nazarbayev and the presidents of the other Asian republics, were still concentrating fully on the union treaty at the time. It looked as though the union treaty would be signed after all. Everything changed within one week—within a single day, to be more specific. Things like that happen in history.

The Commonwealth of Independent States should have been created in various phases. The first step should have been a reformed Soviet Union followed by a transition period, and then the establishment of new structures. There have never been any doubts concerning the goal. This giant multinational state had to be split into 15 independent states. That is the logic of history. Attempts to do that in one step in a country with 300 million people and an enormous military potential are not logical, however. This is very dangerous. You can see with your own eyes how painful the abrupt changes are for the people. Most of them live on the absolute minimum. Often they cannot even buy milk and butter with their salaries.

[Strassegger] How do you assess the measures taken by Yeltsin and his government? Are the measures sufficient, or do you consider a popular uprising possible, if not a coup from the right, in the near future?

[Shevardnadze] If we had introduced the market economy earlier—about three years ago—we would have saved ourselves a number of problems. We would have been able to utilize our enormous potential, the human and economic potential, for our country. We lost valuable time, however. History does not allow such omissions to go unpunished. We all feel that at this point. Unfortunately, ordinary people suffer most.

[Strassegger] The Georgian Shevardnadze is concerned about the fate of his native land, where he held high public offices between September 1972 and June 1985. He would like to return to his roots. In various rural districts, however, where Gamsakhurdia's nationalist supporters live, Shevardnadze's name provokes hatred and disapproval.

[Shevardnadze] I would like to participate in the construction of a new Georgia. For this reason, I have been meeting with numerous Georgians recently. I discuss the situation with them. It is not yet clear in what form I might participate, either as a simple adviser or in a political position. Everything is possible. I cannot say anything definite at this point, however.

[Strassegger] There was some kind of perestroyka in Georgia before the process was introduced in the entire Soviet Union. Why was it stopped?

[Shevardnadze] Georgia was certainly the most interesting of all republics. One could speak of a laboratory of a new life. The old system, however, did not allow consistent application of the initiatives. For this reason, I once told Gorbachev—he himself has often mentioned this conversation—the following: Everything is completely rotten in our vast country. To improve the situation, the rotten stuff must be removed everywhere.

'Problematic' Mideast Conference Previewed

OW2101184792 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1600 GMT 21 Jan 92

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A meeting intended to start multilateral negotiations to solve Middle East problems scheduled for January 28-29 in Moscow may fall through if Israel and the Palestinians refuse to attend, a high-ranking Russian foreign ministry official has told an IF [INTERFAX] correspondent. He added that Syria's and Lebanon's decision to boycott the Moscow meeting calls it into question. In his view, a government crisis in Israel has made the prospects for holding multilateral consultations in Moscow even more problematic.

Nevertheless, the foreign ministry official hopes that in the days remaining before the meeting is scheduled to begin "the parties concerned will once again weigh all "pros" and "contras" and take a decision which would serve long-term interests of all peoples of the Middle East and not dictated by sheer expediency". [quotation mark as received]

Palestinians Ready To Participate

LD2201125892 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1201 GMT 22 Jan 92

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Postanogov]

[Text] Moscow, 22 Jan (TASS)—"The Palestinians are ready to take part in the Moscow meeting on the organization of multilateral talks on the Near East, planned for 28-29 January." This was stated to a TASS correspondent today by a spokesman for the Embassy of the State of Palestine in the Russian Federation.

The spokesman added that on 20 January a meeting took place in Moscow between Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev and Mahmud 'Abbas, member of the PLO Executive Committee. During the meeting an exchange of views was held on matters relating to the bilateral and multilateral process toward a Near East settlement.

Andrey Kozyrev expressed Russia's support for working jointly with the United States and other interested parties in order to achieve a lasting and just peace in the Near East, based on respect for international law, and satisfying the legitimate demands of the Palestinian people, as well as the rights of all countries and peoples in the region.

Mahmud 'Abbas for his part noted that coordination in Palestinian-Russian cooperation provided an opportunity for starting a Near East settlement and will facilitate the success of the talks process.

TASS on Deactivation of U.S. Army Divisions

LD1901064292 Moscow TASS in English
1611 GMT 17 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Nikolay Kalintsev]

[Text] Bonn January 17 TASS—Two momentous events, confirming once more that the "cold war" is over, occurred today in Frankfurt-am-Main and Baumholder. The flags of two of the four U.S. divisions, deployed in Germany, were solemnly put down in these south German cities.

The ceremony, true enough, did not signify the withdrawal of all their servicemen from Germany. This refers primarily to the Third Armoured Division, which, as distinct from the Eighth Infantry Division, remains in Germany as a combat unit. Eleven thousand of its officers and men, out of a total of 17,000, will continue to serve in Germany but now under the colours of the First Tank [as received] Division, deployed at Rheinland-Pflatz. The rest of its personnel have already left Germany. They will form the backbone of their contingent in the United States.

Each U.S. serviceman's family was paid 8,000 dollars for transport expenses. This includes money for shipping home their personal luggage and private automobiles. However, these spendings are bound to pay back. Financiers have estimated that the maintenance of one GI truck in Europe costs the taxpayers 100 percent more money than in the United States.

This is one of the reasons why plans to withdraw U.S. troops from Germany are being stepped up, the more so since their need in Europe is being increasingly questioned after the ending of East-West confrontation. More than 40,000 U.S. servicemen and about 50,000 members of their families left Germany last summer. It is planned to ship home about 50,000 more officers and men by 1995, which will bring down the number of U.S. servicemen in Germany to 92,200. Experts now expect this level to be achieved two years ahead of this deadline, namely by the end of 1993.

Solton Reviews Military Reductions

LD2101043792 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service
in English 1210 GMT 20 Jan 92

[Text] The U.S. defense secretary, Dick Cheney, confirmed on Sunday [19 January] the intention of the administration on reducing American Armed Forces. How deep will the cuts be? What will be the response of the participants in the Commonwealth of Independent States that has replaced the USSR? This is the topic of notes by our commentator Yuriy Solton. He writes the following:

The figures supplied by the defense secretary are rather impressive. The United States is closing about 400 military bases worldwide. Action has been cancelled on approximately 100 arms development programs. The nuclear arsenals are being reduced. By the mid 90s the personnel of the U.S. Armed Forces is scheduled to be cut back by 250,000 men. This is gratifying and is due, according to Dick Cheney, chiefly to the fact that the formerly main potential adversary of the United States—the Soviet Union—had ceased to exist.

It is notable, however, that it was the USSR two and a half years ago that initiated a unilateral reduction of its Armed Forces by half a million men. It had started pulling out troops from countries of Eastern Europe and from Mongolia. Now, in the course of reforming and reorganizing the Armed Forces, more reductions are to be made, this year by 700,000 men and in the next year or two about the same number. Ukraine, Balrus, and Kazakhstan have declared they will become nuclear free. Russia will reduce its nuclear arsenals to the minimum.

A few bases the Soviet Union has been renting in other countries are being eliminated. For example our military presence is being reduced on the military base at Cam Ranh in Vietnam. The issue has been raised on withdrawing a Soviet military brigade from Cuba. Another point has been made in the House of Commons of the British parliament by the defense secretary, Tom King —for the first time in the past 30 years there is not a single former Soviet naval ship in the Mediterranean Sea and in the Indian Ocean.

So the United states and the participants in the Commonwealth of Independent States intend to keep following a course for disarmament. The process naturally wont be fast and smooth. American missiles are still aimed at the former Soviet republics and Russian missiles are targeted at the United States. Plans are being made to retarget some of the American strategic arms on Third World countries. Powerful NATO military forces are retained in Europe and yet the disarmament process is going on though unevenly and with difficulty. All this makes one hopeful for a safer world.

Further Commentary on U.S. Presence

LD2101011692 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1310 GMT 18 Jan 92

[Text] The beginning of the year marked the start of United States troops withdrawals from Europe. Commentary by Vadim Solovyev:

It was announced that this week three United States divisions deployed in Germany were getting ready to go home. The move is part of America's plan for troop withdrawals spread over several years. Although the United States military presence has been largely reduced, fewer divisions will stay put in Central Europe. By contrast, Soviet troops withdrawals have been going on for two years already, and will be finalized by the year 1994. There seems to be nothing to stop the process—the breakup of the Soviet Union and the emergence of the new Commonwealth of Independent States, or the split of the Armed Forces into national armies and joint Commonwealth forces. The commander in chief of the Commonwealth forces, Marshal Shaposhnikov, pointing to the resolutions by Commonwealth summits in Minsk and later in Alma-Ata, reaffirmed commitments to troop withdrawals in line with agreed schedules and obligations to earlier agreements.

In the meantime, with Soviet troops pulled out from Europe by the end of 1994, the question arises as to what sort of task is being assigned to the remaining United States troops there. True, the question of whether or not to deploy foreign troops on its soil is each country's own affair, but there seems to be a certain asymmetry in confidence building in the military area. Nor is it clear why this should be allowed to happen even that a Soviet former republic have defined their size of the armies, [as heard] which in itself is an indication of the number of troops to be faced with in the region.

The supreme commander of NATO's Armed Forces in Europe, General John Galvin, announced that the United States has just started to withdraw its short-range missiles from Europe as part of the plan spread over three years. None the less, the Americans will hold back two air-launch nuclear weapons, while all of the Soviet nuclear weapons have been pulled out from other countries. Rather, that the withdrawal is near completion of short-range nuclear weapons from the former Soviet republics for storage in Russia. It will take six months to finalize the operation in Ukraine, and a little more than that in Belarus. The process of defusing military tensions in Europe is well under way, albeit at a different pace. But it's in everyone's interest to make it more dynamic.

USSR Foreign Treaty Committments Discussed

PM1601102992 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Jan 92 Morning Edition p 7

[Interview with Professor Vladlen Vereshchatin, member of the UN International Law Commission, by Gennadiy Charodeyev; place and date not given: "USSR's International Treaties: Who Is the Heir?"—first three paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] The agreement on the creation of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] signed 8 December 1991 in Moscow stated that its members "guarantee the fulfillment of international commitments stemming for them from the treaties and agreements of the former USSR." In the Alma-Ata declaration adopted 21 December 1991 all the CIS states confirmed this guarantee, adding words about how the guarantee is given by the states "in accordance with their constitutional procedures."

Can these statements be interpreted as an expression of the agreement of each individual CIS member to become a signatory to all treaties and agreements (multilateral and bilateral) of the former USSR? If the answer is "yes" may it be supposed from the viewpoint of international law that all states of the Commonwealth automatically become signatories to all these treaties and agreements?

An IZVESTIYA correspondent asked Professor Vladlen Vereshchatin, a member of the UN International Law Commission, to answer these questions.

[Vereshchatin] The statements cited, the scientist said, express only the position in principle of the independent states with regard to their predecessor's international commitments, an assurance that there will, for instance, be no repetition of the story of the repudiation of "the tsar's debts." However, it does not follow from these statements that the CIS members automatically become parties to all treaties concluded in the past by the USSR. Let us just recall the fact that other signatories to these treaties wish to voice their position on the new situation regarding the previously concluded treaties.

On the other hand each CIS state will obviously want to analyze a specific treaty of the former Union before making "a notification of succession"—agreeing to be bound by that treaty.

Right now the main questions of succession affecting the states, that is the transfer of the rights and commitments of one individual (state) to one or several other individuals (states) are regulated in two multilateral conventions: the 1978 Vienna convention on the succession of states with regard to treaties and the 1983 Vienna convention on the succession of states with regard to state property, state archives, and state debts. Although neither of these conventions has yet entered into force it is widely acknowledged that they codify the so-called common law norms of international law already in existence. That does not rule out the possibility that interested states may agree in ways other than determined in conventions.

According to the 1978 Vienna convention the USSR's treaties in principle retain their force with respect to each state formed on the territory of the USSR. But that rule does not operate if the relevant states have agreed on something else or if it has been established that the application of the treaty with regard to the successor state is incompatible with the objective and aims of the treaty or would fundamentally alter the terms of its operation. The convention also contains a general rule that a new independent state is not obliged to retain in force any treaty or to become a signatory to it exclusively on the grounds that at the time of the state's succession this treaty operated on its territory.

In other words, the establishment of succession with respect to treaties is a specific process which can demand coordination both between the successors and with other signatories to the treaties.

Thus, special accords and agreements between the members of the Commonwealth could be necessary not only in connection with the USSR's treaties on questions of arms control and disarmament (which is already happening) but also in connection with the USSR's rules and commitments under trade and economic treaties or under agreements in the fishing sphere.

For instance, the granting of specific rights to the USSR fishing fleet to fish in the exclusive economic zone of a particular state will hardly be continued for all successors of the USSR unless an agreement is reached between them on fishing quotas, the distribution of the compensation paid, and so forth. The relevant talks should also be held with other signatories to the treaties. Otherwise the fishing vessels which have appeared in a foreign economic zone under the flag of a state with which no agreement has been signed or with which diplomatic relations have not even been established could simply be arrested.

Agreement and accords could also be required for the solution of questions connected with the USSR's financial commitments to other states and international organizations and of questions connected with the USSR's property outside its territory, for instance the buildings and other property of embassies.

These questions are regulated by the 1983 Vienna convention which says in particular that unless the successor states have agreed otherwise the state real estate of the predecessor state outside its territory will be divided fairly among the successor states. The state debt of the predecessor state is transferred to the successor states following the same procedure.

A special question arises with regard to USSR treaties which have not yet entered into force but talks on which have already been completed or with regard to which accession decisions have already been made. They include very important treaties in the military field and in the sphere of foreign economic activity.

The whole world breathed a sigh of relief when it learned from the Alma-Ata accords of the undertaking of the governments of Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Russia to submit for ratification to their states' Supreme Soviets the treaty on strategic offensive arms, work on which had demanded so much effort. But the fate of another important "disarmament" treaty—on conventional armed forces in Europe—signed in 1990 remains unclear.

As for foreign economic agreements, the Commonwealth states may be deprived of a number of important advantages connected in particular with granting most-favored-nation status unless the 1 June 1990 agreement between the USSR and the United States on trade relations is signed. No less importance attaches to the treaties on the mutual protection of investments or the multilateral convention on the examination of investment disputes.

In view of the large number, variety, and in some cases exceptional complexity of the USSR's treaties, it must be supposed that the process of their analysis and assessment by some new successor states may take a long time. But priorities must be determined right now for groups of multilateral and bilateral treaties of special interest both to the Commonwealth states and to the world community as a whole, V. Vereshchatin believes.

Of course, these priorities will not necessarily be the same in all respects for the USSR's different successor states. For instance, Russia has already stated that it will fulfill all the USSR's international treaties as a party to these treaties. Obviously the treaties relating to military and ecological safety, foreign economic relations, and human rights are of paramount interest to all.

There is an enormous amount of work on all these problems facing the former Union republics' as yet unstrengthened foreign ministries. Some of them not only lack experience of such work but have virtually no international law experts. I think that only by coordinating efforts and with the aid of the Russian Foreign Ministry can this work of importance to every state be successfully performed within a sensible period of time.

Military

Shaposhnikov Holds News Conference on Assembly

PM2101162592 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 Jan 92 pp 1-3

[Report by Colonel G. Miranovich, Lieutenant Colonel O. Vladykin, Lieutenant Colonel A. Dokuchayev, Lieutenant Colonel V. Zyubin, Lieutenant Colonel V. Rudenko, and Major A. Yegorov: "All-Army Officers' Assembly: Impassioned Appeal to Politicians for Reason"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Straight after the Officers' Assembly ended, Marshal of Aviation Ye. Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of the Armed Forces, and Major General of Aviation N. Stolyarov, chairman of the Committee for Work with Personnel, held a news conference.

They thanked Russian Federation President B. Yeltsin, Kazakh President N. Nazarbayev, and V. Niyazmatov, member of the Uzbek Supreme Soviet Presidium representing President I. Karimov, for their active participation in the assembly's work and summarized some of its results.

Perhaps the most noticeable result is the creation of the All-Army Officers' Assembly Coordinating Council. In the words of Marshal of Aviation Shaposhnikov, this new social structure will help the main command to resolve urgent problems of military organizational development and will serve as its support.

We managed to keep the assembly within bounds making it impossible to accuse the leadership of organizing a political demarche aimed at pressuring the presidents of the sovereign states. Such was Gen. Stolyarov's resume.

There was another result. Military leaders consider that the Officers' Assembly will be heeded by the heads of the states who did not take part in its work and, as a result, military questions will be resolved in a more balanced way at the February meeting in Minsk.

In the words of the Armed Forces commander in chief, the position of delegates who defended unified Armed Forces was a surprise to him. He had formed the impression that many do not understand what country they are living in and know nothing about the creation of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States]. The Soviet Union no longer exists; thus it is futile to cling fast to the idea of "unified and indivisible" forces. Nowadays one can speak only of joint Armed Forces under a single command, Yevgeniy Ivanovich said. Only in the future, after the conclusion of bilateral and other agreements, maybe, can we speak of a defensive alliance.

The organizers of the All-Army Officers' Assembly were rebuked for not allowing a single representative of the social organization engaged in servicemen's social protection to speak. Marshal of Aviation Shaposhnikov said in this respect that he was opposed to the participation in the assembly of representatives of any other organizations because this is an Officers' Assembly and only officers elected by their comrades are entitled to take part in it.

Of course, journalists were bound to ask the military department leader questions on the results of the heads of states' meeting that ended recently. Has there been any progress in the talks on the future of the Black Sea Fleet? Has the Ukrainian position on the three military districts changed?

From the answer it was plain that the Ukrainian position on the districts remains unchanged. The sides' views on the Strategic Forces are close. As for the Black Sea Fleet, I think that we have still not exhausted all the opportunities for continuing the constructive dialogue, the commander in chief said. Particularly with regard to its division. Part of it may be transferred to Ukraine, but the bulk will remain in the CIS.

Latest Developments in Baltic Sea Reported

Forces Seen as 'Hostages'

LD2101183792 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1241 GMT 21 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Valeriy Zaytsev]

[Text] Riga, 21 Jan (TASS)—The military have become hostages to the political situation that has taken shape on the territory of the former Union. This is the view of Colonel-General Valeriy Mironov, commander of the Northwestern Group of troops, which is located in the Baltic states. Like the whole of the group's delegation at the All-Army Officers' Assembly, he was, therefore, pleased to hear President Boris Yeltsin's announcement that troops located outside CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] territory are to be transferred to Russian jurisdiction. According to General Mironov, the fragmentation of the Armed Forces benefits only national and political ambitions.

As for the subsequent fate of the Armed Forces on the territory of the Baltic states, General Mironov believes that this complex of issues has to be tackled through interstate talks. "Mutual property disputes have to be resolved too, but the main thing is the fate of the people," he said.

The commander of the Northwestern Group of Forces considers that individual units of the Armed Forces may stay on the territory of the Baltic states as military bases. The probability of their joint use is not ruled out. The military calculate that at least five years will be needed to withdraw the infantry grouping from Baltic territory.

Funding in 'Distorted Light'

OW1701194992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1730 GMT 17 Jan 92

[By M. Mayorov and I. Porshnev; from "Diplomatic Panorama"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] An expert of the General Staff of the ex-Soviet Armed Forces maintains that the question of who and how funds the Black Sea Fleet [as received] has been presented in a deliberately distorted light in Ukraine. While emphasising that Ukraine allocated 350 mln [million] rbl [rubles] for the Fleet's maintenance in the first quarter of 1991, the Ukrainian media hush up the fact that Russia gave for the purpose—and for January alone—250 mln rbl, which sum has found itself frozen by Ukrainian banks.

A military source in Moscow says food and fuel supplies for the Black Sea Fleet from Russia have been artificially blocked on Ukrainian territory. When food does reach its destination, Ukrainian Defense Ministry propagandists persuade the naval personnel that the supplies come from Ukrainian, not Russian, reserves.

Besides, the Black Sea Fleet finds itself in a kind of "information blockade", whereby the naval servicemen are denied the opportunity to see programs of the First (Moscow) TV Channel in full. Ukrainian TV broadcasting is said to be biased.

New Unions, Movements Formed for Armed Forces

Officers for Rebirth of Russia

LD2201023592 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 21 Jan 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The All-Army Officer's Assembly showed that the Army is not standing aside of politics and is putting forward leaders from its own milieu. And today, the military set up their first public movement named Officers for the Rebirth of Russia. [video shows meeting in progress with many uniformed men present, some wearing pre-Soviet style uniforms]

[Correspondent S. Suntsov] Representatives of 42 organizations gathered in the hall—various unions, foundations, and centers of the Russian Federation. The founding documents which were distributed before the start of the conference indicated the public and patriotic nature of the movement. However in his short introductory speech, General Sterligov stated:

[Begin Sterligov recording] Whoever thinks that it is possible to leave politics alone and that it is better to restrict oneself to resolving our housing and other everyday problems, is mistaken. All the problems that have arisen in front of the people are the result of the politics which have been conducted, and without entering into it, into politics, it is impossible to defend our social rights. [end recording]

[Suntsov] The politics of perestroyka and the current course of the Russian leadership were subjected to sharp criticism. As a result of neglecting Russian interests, in the words of General Sterligov, Russia found itself on the borders of the Brest peace to which the Bolsheviks had reduced the country. The unified state had been destroyed, the Russian people are defenseless, and the Army is falling apart.

One gains the impression that the new movement with a political hue which has been created is opening up doors to those who are dissatisfied with the decisions of the All-Army Officers Assembly.

Naval Submariners Hold Congress

PM1601144392 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1200 GMT 14 Jan 92

[Report by M. Ponomarev and I. Galperin; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [Ponomarev] The constituent congress of a new social organization—the Naval Submariners Union—opened in Moscow today. We're not very used to talking about social associations set up by the military, but the situation prevailing with regard to the former Soviet Armed Forces has forced the Army [as heard]—including submarine officers—to make their choice between either leaving themselves to the mercy of political and social circumstances whose consequences could be quite gloomy, or relying on their own strengths and upholding their rights as servicemen. And a very great deal obviously depends on their activity. The main aim of the Submariners Union is to set up a system of socioeconomic and legal protection for naval officers—serving or retired, cadets, and family members of submariners who have been killed—and there are many of those, incidentally. Representatives of all fleets in the former Soviet Army [as heard] attended the congress. There were two lines of discussion. First, the union's general operating strategy and, second, the problems which have arisen following the emergence of the Commonwealth of Independent States. Delegates from fleets deployed in the independent states spoke out unambiguously today. The situation affecting their subunits has become deadlocked. Local authorities are not only failing to lend support but are increasingly hampering normal operations. The powers to urgently resolve this matter are still lacking. The submariners are relying on their new union. On the congress agenda is a plan to adopt an appeal to the Russian parliament and president.

Chernavin Elected Union President

PM1601154192 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 Jan 92 p 2

[Report by Captain Second Rank A. Beledeyev: "Submariners' Union Set Up"]

[Text] A constituent conference has been held in the Navy Main Staff Club proclaiming the creation of the Submariners' Union. Its founders include Fleet Admiral V. Chernavin, commander in chief of the Navy; Fleet Admiral K. Makarov, chief of the Navy General Staff; Rear Admiral R. Chebotarevskiy, RSFSR People's Deputy; the Council of Veteran Submariners, and other public organizations.

Representatives of all fleets' submariners, veteran submariners, representatives of industry, and businessmen who have displayed an interest in the intellectual potential of the Navy took part in the congress' work. The new Union proclaimed its aims to be to help resolve the socioeconomic problems facing submariners, naval propaganda, cultural enlightenment and educational work, and some kinds of international activity.

Fleet Adm. V. Chernavin, who was elected president of the union, said that the voluntary public organization—which is what the Union of Submariners is—will pool the efforts made by the cofounders to provide social security for submariners currently in service, members of their families, veterans of the submarine fleet, and the fleet's founders. The union's name does not mean that the fleet is being divided up into categories, and the submariners invite all military seamen to join them.

Chernavin, Others Interviewed

LD2001103392 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0230 GMT 15 Jan 92

[Interview with Admiral Vladimir Nikolayevich Chernavin, commander in chief of the Navy, and naval representatives Captain 2d Class Sergey Pavlovich Popov and Captain 2d Class Yuriy Ivanovich Pashchenko, by reporter Tatyana Chemodanova on the founding of the Submariners' Congress in Moscow on 15 January—recorded]

[Text] [Chemodanova] Vladimir Nikolayevich, what prompted the submariners to create their own union?

[Chernavin] I think that the complicated political, economic, and social processes taking place in our country today are leading people to think along the same lines. They are looking for a chance to be able to influence the processes taking place. This demands the unification of people into various organizations and bodies that are able to state with greater justification and cogency their views on any of these processes. In a few cases, it helps to achieve the resolution of these questions.

The submariners, as one of the categories of our naval personnel, are, I think, the most organized and cohesive group today. They have decided to create a union in their own interests. I think this is the initial stage of organization. In the future all seamen can be united into a public organization where the opinions of the majority serving in the Navy will be expressed in a democratic way.

[Chemodanova] Now our conversation continues with naval delegates: Captain 2d Class Sergey Pavlovich Popov and Captain 2d Class Yuriy Ivanovich Pashchenko. Would you please tell us what hopes you have for the newly formed Submariners' Union?

[Popov] Under today's conditions there will undoubtedly be mass reductions in the Navy, as in other branches of the Armed Forces. It is no secret that the Navy has at its disposal intellectual and physical potential and well rounded people who are now obliged to look for ways to tie their further productive activity with some other spheres and structures. Why shouldn't we make use of the great potential of the Navy, including its equipment and the surpluses it is planning to hand over to the national economy? Why not take charge of this activity and thereby continue to bring benefits to our state?

[Pashchenko] There has long been a need for submariners to unite. The union may not be a big one, but it will give confidence for tomorrow on the level of moral support and on the level of social protection in various areas.

[Chemodanova] Admiral Vladimir Nikolayevich Chernavin, was unanimously elected president of the Submariners' Union.

Situation Among Border Troops Viewed

'Unprepared' for Division

PM2101101392 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 17 Jan 92 p 3

[Report by V. Filin: "Border Intruders Asked To Wait. Not In Mood For You At Present"]

[Text] The Border Guard Troops, set up and adapted to guard a single state's borders with the appropriate legislative base and material supplies, have proved unprepared for the general division of what has been left of the former Union.

The traditionally amicable relations with the local population and the authorities in the Transcaucasian republics have crumbled to dust. Instead, outposts and subunits are blockaded by mobs of local residents, border guards are being attacked, and ultimatums are being issued demanding that they be immediately transferred to the jurisdiction of the Nakhichevan Republic's Mejlis, for instance, or for them to beat it after handing over their weapons and equipment. In effect, officers write to us, many parts of the Transcaucasian section of the border are being guarded purely symbolically.

Border guards are being "quietly" forced out of the Baltic states, which are planning to set up their own border guard, and border outposts on Moldovan territory feel alarmed.

Ukraine has sworn in border guards on its territory, effectively assuming control of troops and the state border. The peripheral troop subunits' supply system has been destroyed, and today it is not unusual for detachments not only to lack gasoline or cash to pay wages, but also for there to be holdups with food. The troops' activity in its previous form has lost all meaning since it is not clear what a Ukrainian serving in Maritime Kray or a Kazakh serving in the Baltic should do and whether Uzbeks can decide autonomously to serve in the Far East or come home. No one is answerable for the results of guarding the border. The Border Guard Committee, which is in charge of the troops, is waiting in vain for the leaders of the sovereign states to finally reach some agreement and say what the troops should do. Officers at outposts and detachments are waiting in vain for their leaders in Moscow to prove that they are on the job.

Obviously, border guards will have to leave the Transcaucasus and the Baltics. But where are they to go? And when? Officers from Oktemberyanskiy border detachment, giving up on the border guard leadership, have sent a letter to the presidents of Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, Armenia, and Kazakhstan demanding guarantees of their social security, an improvement in their material position, and—and this is the main point—some certainty. If their demands are not met, the officers write, they will stop performing job-related duties.

I am not about to contemplate what might happen if all the desperate officers suddenly went on strike in the belief that our numerous presidents will hear them and everything will change as if by magic.

Many Take Oath in Ukraine

LD2201004192 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1105 GMT 14 Jan 92

[From the "Military News" section]

[Text] 80 per cent of the personnel of Border Guards units based on the Ukraine have sworn their allegiance to the republic.

The Ukrainian oath of allegiance has been taken by 80 per cent of officers, 82 per cent of warrant officers and 78 per cent of conscripted servicemen. Virtually all servicemen of the Kiev Communications Battalion have taken the oath.

Over 50 per cent of rank Navy men and sergeants constituting 45 per cent of the unit's personnel refused to take the oath at the Odessa Naval Brigade. many non-Ukrainian officers consider themselves hostages of political tricks and admit that they have taken the oath only because there was no other way to go. Border Guards caution are worried about the development of the Ukrainian-Russian conflict. Some military openly stated that they will serve honestly but under no circumstances will fight with their brothers. Supposedly, those who do not take the Ukrainian oath of allegiance and are not transferred to a new place of service will sign an obligation to follow the Ukrainian Constitution and commanders' orders up to their retirement.

48 per cent of conscripted personnel of the Crimean Border Guard Naval Brigade did not take the Ukrainian oath of allegiance on January 12.

Far East Area Troops' Food Ration Eliminated

LD2201064992 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 2143 GMT 20 Jan 92

[From the "Military News" section]

[Text] Food rations are being canceled for officers and non-commissioned officers in Far Eastern Military District (FEMD). On January 20, PF [POSTFACTUM] learned from competent sources that the FEMD Finance Directorate on January 18 had sent to subordinate units a classified telegram ordering to pay a R [ruble] 650 monetary compensation to offices instead of providing them with a food ration. The total cost of the ration is determined on the basis of prices of food products included therein, as established by the Finance Directorate of the Ministry of Defense. For instance, a kg of butter has been estimated at R69, and a kg of meat—at R65, whereas Khabarovsk shops are selling a kg of fat alone for R70.

Colonel Vasiliy Kuznetsov, head of the FEMD Finance Directorate, told PF that his directorate had but sent on a telegram received from Moscow, whereas it is up to the Food Directorate to decide whether rations will be provided or not. According to the official, the cancellation of food rations is an absolutely possible and forced measure, as it is becoming more difficult with every day to procure required food products.

An officer at the FEMD headquarters, wishing to remain anonymous, said that the measure will cause resentment among officers as the food ration provided in December 1991 had already cost approximately R800, according to estimates.

Naval Counterintelligence Conference Observed

PM2001100992 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Jan 92 p 3

[Report by Captain Second Class V. Gundarov: "Naval Counterintelligence Open Day"]

[Text] Severomorsk—A noteworthy event has taken place in the Northern Fleet—journalists have gained access to military counterintelligence secrets. Rear Admiral V. Fokin, chief of a Northern Fleet special department, invited representatives of two central newspapers—KRASNAYA ZVEZDA and ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA—to the final [itogovoy] conference of leaders of Northern Fleet military counterintelligence organs, which was held in Severomorsk 9-10 January. Taking part in it were Russian People's Deputy V. Shuykov, secretary of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Committee for Defense and Security; Admiral F. Gromov, commander of the Northern Fleet; senior officials from the Main Directorate for Military Counterintelligence and the former KGB Directorate for Murmansk Oblast; and the Northern Fleet military prosecutor.

The report by Rear Admiral V. Fokin was extremely open. Vladimir Nikolayevich stressed that the organs' main task continues to be to combat foreign special service agents. No less important aspects of the job are to combat corruption and protect the Navy's commercial interests using specific military counterintelligence means.

Naval counterintelligence officers are fighting organized crime. Last year 13 illegally held firearms, six grenades, and several kilograms of explosive were confiscated from the population. The illegal export of 2.5 tonnes of cinnabar [krasnaya rtut] and several dozen tonnes of fuel oil was prevented.

At the same time, the report and speeches noted that military counterintelligence officers are currently under considerable moral and psychological pressure. The repeal of normative acts which regulated the activity of the former KGB have left them virtually outside the law...

Colonel Views Aspects of Commonwealth Meeting

LD2001231292 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1610 18 Jan 92

[Commentary by Colonel Vadim Solovyev]

[Text] The leaders of 11 former Soviet republics have held a meeting in Moscow. A view of the military aspects of their discussion from Colonel Vadim Solovyev:

[Solovyev] The summit focussed on a dozen of issues regarding the Soviet Union's international commitments and the reform of the Armed Forces in the new Commonwealth. Naturally, it needed more than one day to consider all the problems and that is why it adjourned with a decision that in a week a plenipotentiary ad hoc group would be set up to consider the military matters in detail. But the Commonwealth leaders did have time to define a general approach to the topics of their discussion.

Approach to the START treaty between the Soviet Union and the United States sat high on the summit's agenda. In the very first days of the new Commonwealth the four republics with strategic nuclear forces on their territory, that is, Russia, Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhstan, pledged firm commitment to the provisions of that treaty and the arms control initiatives set forth by presidents Bush and Gorbachev. The other republics of the new Commonwealth will most likely share this commitment without any reservations.

Another important treaty concerns the reduction of the conventional Armed Forces in Europe. The summit declared the implementation of that treaty met the interests of all the Commonwealth republics. The problem that remains to be settled, however, is how the republics would divide among themselves the stocks of weapons to be destroyed under that treaty. But the discussion of this purely technical issue is not expected to take long.

The Moscow summit unanimously confirmed the indivisibility of the strategic forces. These would remain under one command and Russian President Boris Yeltsin and the commander in chief of the Commonwealth Armed Forces, Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, would keep their fingers on the Commonwealth nuclear button. Also unanimously, the summit endorsed the text of the military oath of allegiance for men in the strategic forces, and the recently critical dispute on the fate of the formerly Soviet Navy was resolved to everyone's content in Moscow. The summit decided the Navy was a part of the Commonwealth strategic forces. A few vessels, however, would fly the colors of Ukraine and Azerbaijan.

The 11 heads of state are planning to hold their next meeting on the 14th of next month. They will be expected to sign an accord on the military matters and the accord will most likely specify the reform of the Commonwealth Armed Forces, which is to take two or three years.

Stolyarov Views Integration of Armed Forces

PM2001115992 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Jan 92 Morning Edition p 3

[Article by Major General of Aviation Nikolay Stolyarov, Candidate of Philosophical Sciences: "Integration Is As Valuable As Independence"]

[Text] **The Institutuion of the Army in the Modern World**

In all the developed countries, the army has been removed completely from the immediate political battleground: The system of changes of power and the mechanism whereby unsuccessful or incompetent politicians resign makes for a civilian society and the army does not interfere in these processes.

That is precisely the model that was being developed in our country the whole of last year. The Army was learning to remain composed and not probe the political labyrinth. In August the hapless putschists, encumbered by traditional thinking, set the Army a test. It was hard, but the Army passed the test.

The entirely outward-looking orientation of the institution of the army in the civilized world is due to yet another factor—the advent of the era of high-technology wars. The army is trained and destined to tackle very complex military tasks, which involve not flexing its muscles at home, but maintaining the world order, world stability: The modern military strategy of forward basing and rapid deployment, which is a basic principle in Western armies, is precisely geared to inflicting instant punishment on potential troublemakers, such as Saddam Husayn.

Army cuts are made possible in all developed countries by the disappearance of global military confrontation between the two systems and the shifting of the criteria for the assessment of military might from quantitative to qualitative (intellect, equipment, technology) parameters.

That is a boon. Let the problem of peace be resolved henceforth not so much by hostilities, as by the very fact of the existence of a highly organized military machine, ever ready to punish an international aggressor threatening the strong or the weak.

What Our Society Thinks About the Army

There are two strands of public opinion about our Army. The first is that the Army is essentially superfluous, there is no one to fight with, and the outlay on the Army is impoverishing what is already a poor society. The other would seem to be the opposite of that—the Army is absolutely essential, and each newly formed state needs a reformed, reduced, renewed, and separate national army, without nuclear equipment.

These two strands create a simply tragic situation for the Army. It is not being disbanded, but then life is being made impossible as a result of the moral persecution, physical threats, chaotic cuts, and what is most dangerous of all, in my view—the fueling of nationalist emotions in it. At the moment the Army remains deaf to the ethnic hubbub—from the purely functional viewpoint the ethnic aspect is alien to the modern army.

But now the very top people in the separate national states are getting down to business. Ethnic values are being instilled, they are actually being introduced into the Army. In their desire to gain a swift economic benefit from the destruction and sale of the Army, the statesmen often forget that it consists not of cruisers and machine-guns, but of human beings, of human lives. Whether society wants to or not, it has to face up to that.

Society has achieved one thing for sure: People equipped with the latest weapons and military hardware and capable of taming in a single day the society that is taunting it are sitting as quiet as mice by their supersonic aircraft and formidable missiles.

But the quiet in the Army is deceptive. You might say it is stunned with amazement. How can it not be stunned? What does it see? Not society, but just a few people, albeit leaders, had the extraordinary audacity to liquidate the state and, in effect, personally decide the future of their peoples in global historical terms. They say: It has to be, history demands it, we will all have a better life then. OK! But they see something else too: Our new idols are not yet in a position to organize things in such a way that the people do not suffer. They cannot guarantee them even the most basic order and the most elementary consumer essentials. Our patient people are prepared to understand even that. But how do you understand the desire to chop up the Army, cast it out of social life, bring it to its knees and again force it to serve the internal interests of rulers who could change and change again during the transitional period of our uncertain existence? Would that enable society to acquire peace and freedom overnight, would it provide a happier life for people worn out by the incessant changes?

The Army is not trying to impose on society the old stereotype of its participation in political life. But the Army is trying to understand what is happening, in order to be able to adopt the correct stance itself. That is the purpose of the All-Army Conference of Representatives of Officers' Assemblies that is taking place in Moscow.

The Army Amid the Independence Parade

The essential purpose of the political phase we are going through at the moment is to combine two very important processes—acquisition of independence by the new states and attainment of a high level of integration by them. The latter is often not merely forgotten, but is rejected on the grounds that it belongs to the old values. We must wake up and realize that integration is as valuable as independence.

The Army is being used as an example to demonstrate once again to society that the state independence of the former Union republics is such a great boon that for its sake the last unified structure on the territory of the abolished USSR—the united Armed Forces—should be destroyed. Army unity is portrayed for society by some leaders as a serious threat to the independence of the newly formed states.

Here too, two opposite approaches are clearly visible. Those who are sure of themselves and know that their policy will have the people's support cannot conceive of any army other than a unified one within the framework of the Commonwealth as a whole. But those who feel that they cannot cope with the situation are hoping both that army capital will be sold off and that the Army will help them in a situation like the Georgian one. But this is exactly what one should not expect: The unified army consciousness today is so far removed from the political situation (something the politicians themselves wanted) that even if the Army swears the particular national oath there will be no one to save the hapless rulers from the people's wrath if their course continues to cause a fall in living standards.

Just as the Army failed to come to the defense of the SCSE [State Committee for the State of Emergency], it would not come to the defense of a government that cannot organize a proper, dignified life for human beings today.

The question of totally independent existence as a great boon remains controversial. After a while it will be clear that the republics are not ready for an independent existence, in particular economic. A declaration of independence gives a sensation of freedom, but it does not give freedom itself. Freedom is associated above all with well-being, and to achieve well-being it is necessary to be independent and integrated at the same time, in a single economic, social, and cultural community.

Furthermore, did such a strong and formidable, as yet not entirely reformed united state army prevent the republics from acquiring independence? Does our Army have a different perception of the processes taking place in the country from that of the people as a whole?

It is quite clear that the former Union republics which have become states are not going to fight with one another. But if that idea is part of their plans, then the Union Army really must press for its own retention as a unified entity, in order to prevent any attempts at mutual destruction.

The governments of the individual sovereign states are promising the Army a marked improvement in its upkeep if it flows from the Commonwealth structure into autonomous national armies. They promise a major pay raise, a speedy solution of the housing problem, decent pensions, and so on. That would be nice... But there are several questions to ask. Would one of the separate national governments have the money to give servicemen high pay if their people were living in dire poverty? Would it not draw a needless line between military and civilians on the grounds of material and everyday needs? Most important, would aggregate defense expenditure be reduced under army nationalization? According to our calculations, it would increase, in fact. And increase signficantly—seven to eight times over. For your information, it will currently cost 100-140 billion rubles [R] per year to keep a 500,000 strong separate national armed forces grouping. No individual state can afford that kind of expenditure.

You do not have to be an analyst to realize what lies in store for us: Many other Army indicators would decline; skill levels would be bound to fall. Being cut off from central organizations narrows the field of contact, the cultural space; the armies of the separate national states will be like isolated feudal domains with a provincial future. And who would then need the armies, armies that fall well short of world standards?

Many people are not averse to accusing us, the leaders of the united armed forces, of having a personal interest, of wanting to save our own jobs, when we advocate a unified army. If we were guided by what is allegedly the "public interest," we would chop it up ourselves, dismember it, destroy it, would we? What? The number of prestigious jobs would in fact increase many times over if the Army were chopped up.

I do not know about our critics, but it is impossible for us to remain indifferent to what is happening: People's lives are threatened by economic collapse, but while governments should be dealing exclusively with economic matters, they are busy drawing borders, dividing up the Army, theorizing about abstruse problems, and in so doing wasting time and missing the chance to save the Fatherland and save themselves. Apparently, they believe that the best salvation is to divert people's attention to nonessential, but more arresting and attractive matters.

The Army must not be dependent on the political situation. That is the new, general policy for the Army's existence in the modern world. It should not be seen to attach itself to any particular policy. In order to be able to handle the major tasks of the institution of the Armed Forces, which are set out in terms of the present-day international situation, our Army will have to work very hard on itself. And only an integrated Commonwealth army can do the job. In a fragmented state, it will wither and willy-nilly contribute to the processes whereby our Fatherland turns into a group of countries like those we used to disparagingly call "third world" countries.

Yes, we favor a Commonwealth army. And if that is not possible, then a greater Russian army, because only a strong state will be able to maintain a modern, high-technology army. And no matter how much you accuse Yeltsin and like-minded politicians of having an imperial mentality, it is high time to replace the propensity for total upheavals with a desire to create a strong democratic state, since, as our sad experience has shown, stateless coexistence is a pipedream.

I want to stress once again that the Army can guarantee tranquillity if it is the army of the Commonwealth of states. But if we are forced to be only a Russian army, then it will not be possible to give any guarantee against a civil war, for reasons that have nothing to do with us, the military.

Yavlinskiy Cited on Armed Forces' Future

PM2101111192 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 17 Jan 92 p 2

[Interview with G.A. Yavlinskiy, chairman of the Economic and Political Research Center Council, by Captain Second Rank V. Urban on 15 January; place not given: "Grigoriy Yavlinskiy: The Armed Forces Must Possess Status of Political Immunity"]

[Text] [Urban] What do you think, Grigoriy Alekseyevich? Is it economically more advantageous for the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] to maintain a unified Army, or is it better for each of the 11 new states to have its own army?

[Yavlinskiy] This is a secondary question. The army should always be viewed from a geostrategic perspective. This is the first point. Second, the Army should be seen from the viewpoint of historical traditions and statehood. Finally, it is mandatory to assess the economic potential and expediency. Only regard for all three circumstances provides the answer to your question.

[Urban] Are there no contradictions between the geostrategic tasks—each of the CIS states has its own ones—and the historical traditions of our statehood and the army?

[Yavlinskiy] Above all, it is very doubtful that each of the CIS states, which have just come into being, has its own distinctive geostrategic interests. Of course, it is possible to mention major regions—such as Central Asia, Europe, and the Transcaucasus—but all this requires very serious interpretation from positions of collective security.

However, there are grounds for believing that the CIS is a temporary stage. Anything can happen in history.

The present total sovereignization is still not the final word in our country's history. The present sovereignties should not be regarded as something historically fixed and incapable of changing. Just as the CIS cannot be regarded as the final form of the Commonwealth among the republics. There are still very many political, territorial, and other problems here.

Many political and economic processes will prevent the disintegration from continuing.

[Urban] Does this mean that the elements of unity that still exist must be preserved? The Army is precisely one such element....

[Yavlinskiy] Everything that is sensible and in the common interest must be preserved. This position was laid down in the "500 Days" program. The modern Army, on whose creation and upkeep so much of the people's effort and funds were expended, is one of these structures. What its orientation, numerical strength, and cost must be is another question. There are many problems here that require a solution.

[Urban] Who must tackle this now?

[Yavlinskiy] Russia could take the initiative, but all the republics must participate.

[Urban] I would like to know, then, why, in your view, certain former Union republics pursued a contradictory military policy right after the CIS was formed.

[Yavlinskiy] This is very simple. In actual fact, they have no idea about military policy.

As a rule, the republics have no experience, and they have never tackled military-strategic or defense questions. If there is a military district or several military districts on the territory of some republic, this certainly does not mean that the republic's leaders are capable of determining strategic prospects. It has now turned out like this: They need an army to reinforce their own sovereignty. Consequently, attempts to create it have begun. Naturally, these attempts have not been adequately thought out.

It is a very complex matter to formulate a military doctrine....

[Urban] Not even the former USSR managed to define it accurately of late.

[Yavlinskiy] Just so...a very complex matter.

[Urban] The dispute between Russia and Ukraine over the Black Sea Fleet—is this in the same category?

[Yavlinskiy] This dispute stems from haste in tackling military questions and, consequently, from lack of readiness to resolve such questions. This is borne out by the events which occurred literally yesterday (the conversation took place 15 January—V.U.). The Russian delegation at the Kiev talks on military-political questions makes its own interpretation of the accords reached on Saturday [11 January], while the Ukrainian delegation also makes its own interpretation. Is this really in earnest?

[Urban] Grigoriy Alekseyevich, what, then, are we military people to expect?

[Yavlinskiy] If true statesmanlike responsibility is not shown with regard to all these questions, then, in view of the exacerbation of interrepublic contradictions, it can be expected that nationalism (in the worst sense of the word) will intensify in the very near future and, of course, opposition to it will appear. The creation of national armed formations in conjunction with failures of economic policy in the former Union republics could push the leadership, or at least some of them, toward adventurism. This is really dangerous. Of course, in this context military people could use different tactics in different cases, but under no conditions and on no account must military people become a toy in absurd political games. For you know better than others that, if weapons appear in unwise hands, there is a very high probability that there will be a misfortune. In such a situation military people must be the most peaceful and sensible people.

[Urban] What decisions would you consider correct?

[Yavlinskiy] I believe that we must now abandon the principle that "all armed forces stationed on the territory of a republic are transferred to its jurisdiction."

This is connected with the fact that, first, the USSR's defense doctrine had a western thrust. Therefore a very large number of troops are concentrated in western districts. It is wrong to leave them under the jurisdiction of the corresponding republics. The question must be a subject of talks among the Commonwealth states. Until such talks have been completed, the Armed Forces must possess a status of political immunity.

The role of the military can also be manifested in the insistent submission of this proposal to the republics' leaders and in the well-reasoned defense of it. If the appeal is not heeded, it is necessary to draw conclusions.

Second, all decisions must be checked economically, to see how realistic they are. In this connection assurances by the leadership of certain republics that they will be able to maintain an army and will thereby, as it were, "lighten Russia's burden" give rise to big doubts. I can say from an economist's viewpoint that Ukraine, for example, simply does not have the funds to maintain an army like the one that is stationed today on this republic's territory.

[Urban] As I have understood it, one of your theses is that the Army must now take an active part in politics, is it not?

[Yavlinskiy] The rule "The Army is outside politics" must be unfailing. But, as I have already said, conditions must be created everywhere without delay and in all senses to ensure that the slogan "The Army itself must defend itself," which has now become popular, is simply removed in principle from the agenda. If this is not done, no incantations will help.

But there is also another side to the coin. There are the military aspects proper or, in other words, military policy. Here the questions of which army is fit for combat in modern conditions, whether it should be unified, how to preserve what has already been achieved, what it must be like in order to fulfill its purpose—this is the policy in which the voice of competent military people must make itself clearly heard.

Commentaries on Problems With Dividing Forces

'Cannot Be Divided Now'

PM2001144792 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 17 Jan 92 p 3

[Article by A. Krayniy: "Do You Need Another Ukrainian Front?"]

[Text] Gorbachev liked to repeat that politics is the art of the possible. Our new leaders are proving that politics is the art of the unpredictable. If you take their public utterances in the past two months, every one of them, approximately once a week, has done what the navy calls an "about face." And although you can understand that politicians are pursuing their own aims, which are perhaps invisible to us, the feeling that they have duped you does not disappear.

When Boris Nikolayevich opened the eyes of those around him in Bryansk with the words: "Partyocrats have installed themselves in the meat combine," you want to add that they are attaching their horrible partyocratic labels on our democratic sausage. When President Kravchuk signs the agreement on joint strategic forces—where it is written in black and white: the Air Defense Forces, the Air Force, the Navy, and so on—and the next day he demands that the Black Sea Fleet be handed over to Ukraine, this, like in the first example in Bryansk, rather prevents the observer from believing in the democratic leaders of the sovereign states.

Strictly speaking, the Army is not asking for a great deal at the moment. To wait a while and not to be hasty; it is pinning great hopes on the All-Army Officers' Assembly where, according to all the indications, it intends to present a united front. Will the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] listen to it? Hardly, since in every one of the states (or almost every one) the Soviet feature of impatience is too strong. We are all the product of our young pioneer childhood. Soviet man needs things now and today; he is by nature impatient and mistrustful. The West, by clearly stating its concern, has somehow helped resolve the problem of strategic offensive weapons. Under pressure from world public opinion, the problem of tactical nuclear weapons will also be resolved. However, the problem with conventional weapons is more complex. There is no arguing about it—a sovereign republic has the right to its own army, the West agrees with this, but for our politicians no man has ever been a prophet in his own country.

The impatience of the Ukrainian leadership, which does not want to go through the interim phase of joint armed forces, is inflaming the impatience of the other CIS member states. But dividing up the Army is a neurosurgical operation, and haste may cause the patient's death on the operating table.

It is clear that a unified army can only be preserved if the republics agree to be together. But this will not happen. When Ukraine responded favorably to Yeltsin's efforts to shatter the center, it was not in order to reach an agreement with someone today.

To my mind, time is also needed to determine the "military share" of every CIS member. Republics made payments into the state budget in accordance with gross national income. Russia, for example, gave 70 rubles out of every 100 for defense, while Ukraine, if I am not mistaken, gave 12, while troops were stationed on USSR territory not according to the money spent but according to the operational-strategic deployment plans. Maybe it would be fair to take that circumstance into account in the distribution.

Maybe it would also be fair to mention the fact that Sevastopol is nevertheless a Russian city? And the fact that its population voted for Ukraine's independence a few months ago does not prove much; after all, back in March the same population voted in favor of a renewed Union.

Perhaps it would be appropriate to recall that Krushchev's tsarist gift in 1954, when he handed the Crimea over to Ukraine in honor of the 300th anniversary of the reunification of the fraternal peoples, was unlawful. At that time—now distant—Nikita Sergeyevich was first secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and, even according to the "flexible" rules of that time, he did not have the right to arbitrarily change borders, even internal ones.

Pursuing this line here in Moscow, you logically arrive at the idea of the annexation of Ukraine, while sitting in

Kiev you arrive at the idea of defending "Mother Ukraine." So, this means deadlock.

I agree that an enormous army and four fleets is an unbearable burden even for Russia. But if you remember that the Army and Navy are made up not just of so much hardware, but also of people who must not be faced with the choice today to either take this oath or that oath in order to split the troops into two camps—then Admiral Igor Kasatonov's position becomes understandable.

Incidentally, this position was not formulated as an order but it was elaborated entirely democratically by the commander on the basis of the officers' assemblies' decision.

The admiral was not interfering in politics; it was politicians and presidents who pushed him there. For a military man, the oath is not just a few words uttered in front of a large gathering of people on a parade ground or a ship's deck (and thank God!). I am sorry, but it is a vow, and this vow was intended for one territory, just like training, supplies, communications, command, and so on in the Soviet Army. Of course, it would be simplest today to take it and divide it up, which is what is happening. But surely our own history has not failed to teach us that simple decisions are dangerous.

The Army cannot be divided now. Officers cannot maintain discipline and order—incidents involving soldiers of indigenous nationality threatening their commanders with reprisals are not infrequent. In the face of this, the principle "every man for himself" is coming into operation and the Army is turning into a partisan detachment. And the words "We reserve the right to transfer to the jurisdiction of whichever government is capable of ensuring our social guarantees"—from the appeal by officers from two assault divisions near Kaunas—do not look like an empty threat at all.

I think I know one government like this. Saddam Husayn's.

Position 'Ambiguous'

PM2101104192 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 17 Jan 92 p 1

[Article by Captain First Rank V. Chupakhin: "Officers' Fraternity, Unity, and Honor Are Not Empty Words"]

[Text] How many appeals, letters, and telegrams did the editorial office receive during these days preceding the All-Army Conference of Representatives of Officers Assemblies? Hundreds and hundreds. We were able to publish just a small part of them. Emissaries from officers' collectives arrived from various parts of the country with whole packages of documents addressed to very diverse figures—ranging from presidents of sovereign states to their own colleagues in the military. Both the substance of the appeals and their tone varied—some chose somewhat stronger and tougher terms while others, conversely, emphatically weighed every phrase. But they expressed a single pain and a single hope: In one way or another almost every one of the appeals from officers assemblies and the readers' letters contained the same leitmotiv—what will happen to the Armed Forces? Will the politicians find civilized, wise solutions? Will they take into consideration the opinion of military professionals?

In the past an organized machinery would have worked at full tilt before a forum of this kind. Today there is no need to organize anything in advance. Without stretching a point at all, this conference has been convened on an initiative from below. Demands to convene it had long been heard. It is only to be regretted that this has happened only today. Maybe many of the current impasses would have been avoided.

The press unanimously rates today's conference as an event of paramount significance. True, some people habitually "go too far": Voices have been heard speaking of some kind of "diktat by the military," and the "canard" of an imminent military coup has appeared for the umpteenth time. Ravings, and that is all.

No, officers are not gathering in Moscow for the sake of getting involved in political circuses. Politicians are endowed with the peoples' trust. Let them reach agreement and adopt decisions, including decisions on defense questions. But it is the right and duty of the delegates to the All-Army Conference to prompt them to reach agreement, to help them to reach agreement, and to advise them how best to do so.

What is necessary for this to happen? It is undoubtedly very important for specific proposals to be heard from the rostrum in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses and to evolve into some serious documents. But it seems to me personally still more important for politicians and the peoples of the Commonwealth to see for themselves the unity of the aspirations and anxieties of our multinational officers corps, of which I spoke above. On no account must we get bogged down in debates and arguments. We must not fall out with one another or start infighting. We must not let ourselves get swept away by the bad example of certain parliamentarians into a talking shop and a quagmire of procedural issues. We must not reduce speeches from the rostrum to an account of the particular problems of some individual subunits. We must not miss the essence or lose the chief point. We must not harm our dignity.

Today some people call the Armed Forces and the officers corps "the last bastion of empire" and "a fragment of the collapsed center." Well, the position of people in uniform really is dramatic and ambiguous. There is no Union, but they swore an oath to the Union. The sovereign states have proclaimed their right to have their own armies, but it turns out that these military people are reluctant to reckon with realities. This is not true! The majority of servicemen have both sufficient sense of reality and sufficient respect for the choice of the peoples of the independent states and for the decisions of their parliaments. They themselves are representatives of these peoples, and everything that happens to the peoples happens to them too.

The crux of the matter lies elsewhere. If we are speaking of certain realities, why ignore others? No, the Union does not exist, and yet the defense system of what is now called the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] is unified. The Armed Forces are unified, and they are unified in such a way that, if we start cutting in a hurry, cutting too deep, we will not get by without pain and blood.

If we do cut, it will only be after measuring seven times and with surgical precision. But many things it is hardly possible or necessary to cut at all. Quite a lot has already been said about military-technical questions and about the fact that the thoughtless dividing up of the Navy or the air defense system, let us say, will produce nothing but universal harm. Less is said about the fact that the present Armed Forces also represent a huge intermingling of destinies and a spiritual community of people of very different nationalities. This too cannot be cast aside so easily.

Let us take the officer corps again, for example. Its present unity and honor are not some kind of annoying whim. It is what those who have devoted their life to a military destiny absorb from the school bench and acquire with garrison and test-range joys and adversities; it combines with a single vocation and destiny, with streams of sweat, with shared suffering, with the blood of dead comrades...

Yes, it is for politicians to decide what to do with the Armed Forces and what they are to be like. But it is our task and our right—given any outcome, even the most unfavorable—not to allow this unity and this fraternity to be taken away from us. Not to allow ourselves to be set against one another in the name of anyone's ambitions. God forbid that we should be placed on different sides of the fronts. Today we must simply swear that this will never happen, come what may.

Some people will say: it is not necessary to say all this. It is necessary! Precisely today. So that it is not too late. We must also talk about the way they are already trying to divide us up into "ours" and "theirs" and are trying to test us—some with a carrot, some with a stick. It is a matter of choice for everyone to decide just how to act in today's complex circumstances. But, both for the man who sees himself only within unified or joint Armed Forces and for the one who is ready to serve in a national army, the concepts of officers' honesty and officers' solidarity must be more than an empty slogan. If you agree today to your comrade's future being ruined only because he is of the wrong nationality, because it has fallen to his lot to serve on the wrong territory, because he has allowed himself to hold the wrong convictions, the same could happen to you too tomorrow...

"The last bastion of empire"? Or maybe the first stone in the foundations of a really strong and truly friendly association of nations and peoples? No, it is no coincidence that the vitality of the very idea of the CIS is being tested precisely in the question of the Armed Forces. If sensible solutions are found to halt the destructive disintegration, the Commonwealth will live. If this is not done, we will hardly be able to achieve trust and mutual understanding in other spheres.

Who knows, maybe it is precisely the position of the All-Army Conference that is fated to tip the pan of the wavering political scales. The officers will say—"The Commonwealth shall live!" And the Commonwealth will live.

Economic

Russia, Ukraine, Belarus Join in Gas Venture

LD1701202792 Moscow TASS in English 1457 GMT 17 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Belyayev]

[Text] Moscow January 17 TASS— The governments of Russia, Ukraine and Belarus have agreed to set up a joint-stock gas society, which will be open for foreign investors, too. The first working meeting of society founders ended here today. Representatives from other republics of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) were invited to the meeting.

As many as 810-815 billion cubic metres of gas are annually extracted on the territory of the CIS. Most of it is produced by enterprises of the "Gasprom" state concern. They make up the country's single gas supply system, due to which the gas industry remains afloat even in the current unstable situation, dependably meeting the gas requirements of the national economy and the population.

The single gas supply system includes gas deposts in West Siberia, Komi, Orenburg region, Turkmenia, Uzbekistan, Ukraine and the Caspian area. They are estimated at more than 30 trillion cubic metres of gas. West Siberia accounts for over 60 per cent of these resources. The system also includes 214,000 kilometres of trunk gas pipelines, delivering fuel to consumers.

The political situation has called for substantial changes in the system of the gas industry. Most suitable for the new conditions are joint-stock societies, which have proved their worth throughout the world. Moreover, experts believe that it is necessary to preserve the technological and organisational ties between mining, processing and transporting enterprises, which should be managed as a single complex.

Coal Mining in Former Union Drops Substantially

OW2001015692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1655 GMT 19 Jan 92

[From the 20 January Soviet "Business Report"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In 1991 the mining of coal in the former Soviet Union dropped from 682.1 million tons [as received]

(1990) to 62.49 million tons and amounted to 91% of the quantity mined in the previous year. The greatest drops occurred in Donbass (in Ukraine), which suffered a reduction of over 29 million tons, and Kuzbass (in southern Siberia), which fell by 25 million tons. Donbass and Kuzbass are the main coal-mining regions of the former Soviet Union. Coal mining in Kazakhstan, the third largest producer of coal in the USSR, was at its previous level, myainly due to strip mining, which increased in the country by 0.6% in the past year.

COAL (SHALE) MINING ON THE TERRITORY OF THE FORMER SOVIET UNION FOR 1991
(figures denote millions of tons)

	1991	1990	growth rate
Total coal production	620494	682016	91.0 [as received]
including:			
mines	304094	367654	82.7
strip mining	316400	314363	100.6
Principal coal basins:			
Donbass	143338	172619	83.0
Kuznetsk basin	119378	144559	82.6
Pechora basin	23566	29268	80.5
Kansk-Achinsk basin	54815	51210	107.0
Republics:			
Russian Federation	344740	386698	89.1
"Russian coal" Corp.	320522	356147	90.0
Ukraine	135622	164811	82.3
Kazakhstan	130278	130507	99.8

Transition to National Currencies Assessed

PM2101130192 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Jan 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Article by Ivan Zhagel: "National Currencies: Drama Smacking of Farce"]

[Text] As a rule, the process of sovereignization in the former Union's former republics follows a standard scenario: First they adopt a new coat of arms, a new anthem, and a new flag, and then matters inevitably progress to the introduction of national currencies. The latter is imagined to be as simple and as swift as the aforementioned symbolic maneuvers, even though there is virtually no comparable experience in a single highly developed state in the modern world.

It seems, therefore, that our economists and specialists from the already collapsed USSR State Bank made a huge mistake in not attempting to forecast this process—not even in general terms—and bring its complexities to the notice of the public and parliamentarians. Then there would have been less political speculation—and less pure stupidity—in the question of introducing national currencies.

In any case, we must all be clear about one simple thing: The printing of new bank notes—karbovanets coupons [Ukraine], lits [Lithuania], kroons [Estonia]—is the simplest of the whole package of measures linked with transition to the republics' own currencies. Despite being at the center of much controversy at the moment, these beautiful pieces of paper are not yet currencies in the full sense of the word as they can only circulate on the consumer market. Enterprises will continue to settle mutual accounts between themselves on the basis of the ruble.

To alter this procedure, if only within the framework of one independent state, it is necessary to at least define the national currency's weight, as it were—in other words what it is worth and how it relates to the ruble. To do this, it is necessary to know the country's economic potential and to calculate more or less precisely the GNP of each member of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States]. It is unlikely that such work is underway right now anywhere, indeed, it is hardly feasible in the conditions of the current price distortions and the avalanche-like collapse of economic links.

The weight of any national currency will largely depend on the apportionment of the former Union's internal and external debt. So far nothing has been initiated here, and it will take more than one generation of economists and politicians racking their brains before a universally acceptable solution is found. At any rate, the latest events surrounding the division of the Black Sea Fleet show that our country is no master at the art of compromise.

Finally, the transition to a national currency requires the creation of currency reserves. Moreover, it is not just a matter of $10 or $15 million, but of billions of dollars. Could it be that some country already has this kind of money? Or that some country hopes to acquire it within a matter of months? No, nobody in the world will lend large capital sums to support a fledgling currency unit. The most that will happen is that attempts will be made to scrutinize it closely and evaluate the likely potential of the state that has decided upon such a risky step.

But even if currency reserves are created, new currencies in any of the independent states are still unlikely to become convertible in the next 5-10 years. There should be no illusions on this score: In the world as a whole there are all of a dozen genuinely hard currencies. And quite frankly, things will be awkward for the leaders of our independent states who declare that their currencies will be convertible immediately—what kind of economic advisers do they have in their midst? Who do they rely on?

The issue here concerns not just the competence of statements by some independent state leaders: If the new national currencies are not sufficiently hard, CIS members will have to agree in earnest on a basis for settling mutual accounts between the enterprises of each different region before these currencies are introduced. The experience of the defunct CEMA proves that the dollar cannot be used as such a basis. But there will have to be trade, as technological links among enterprises within the former Union are immeasurably closer than was the case between enterprises in East Europe. And if such agreement is not reached, then the introduction of national currencies will bring the majority of the most complex production units in the Commonwealth of Independent States to a standstill. Local industry enterprises which rely on local raw materials and do not have ramified economic links will be the only ones that will not suffer.

Admittedly, there is something of a hypothetical solution: To organize clearing trade, in other words settling mutual accounts by goods deliveries from one side to the other. The clearing mechanism operates more or less well when the exchange of manufactured goods is in question. But how can you organize the mutual exchange of thousands upon thousands of purpose-built components, materials, and semi-manufactured goods? It is not the simplest of tasks, and it will require time, massive material outlay, and the training of a large number of specialists.

Of course, it is possible that I have missed something in this list of measures to be implemented in order to introduce national currencies, but enough has been said to realize that the governments and parliaments of some independent states in the commonwealth are undertaking a very dangerous business with unpredictable consequences.

Paraphrasing a well known expression, it can be said that today we are linked by the ruble alone. This is a basis for development, for bringing the economy into being.

National currencies should not be a trump card in a political struggle. But so far they have no other role. Otherwise, for example, the selfsame Baltic States would have introduced their own currency long ago, instead of dragging their heels for 18 months.

Incidentally, CIS members flatly refuse to take note of the Lithuanian, Latvian, and Estonian experience. And the drama-packed struggle for their own currencies is now increasingly smacking of farce.

Agriculture

Goskomstat Reports Decline in Grain Production

OW2101211492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1857 GMT 21 Jan 92

[From the "Soviet Business Report"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In 1991 the states in the Commonwealth of Independent States harvested, according to the USSR's Goskomstat data, 155,000,000 tons [as received] of grain, which is 57 mn [million] tons (27%) less than was harvested a year ago. Even if one were to include the 0.7 tons harvested in Georgia, and about 6 mn tons from the Baltic states, the results would still be about 10 mn tons less than the most pessimistic estimates were for the 1991 harvest in the USSR.

The harvest in Kazakhstan fell most sharply, by 58%. In Russia, 28 mn tons of grain less were collected last year as compared to 1990 (as weighed after drying and cleaning): in Ukraine, 12 mn tons less were harvested.

Experts think that unfavorable weather conditions are only one of the reasons for the poor harvest. The reduction of area under crops and the general disorganization during harvesting had perceptible consequences. One result was that almost 7 mn hectares of grain were never harvested.

GRAIN PRODUCTION IN THE COUNTRIES OF THE COMMONWEALTH IN 1991

	Gross harvest (mn tons)		Yield (centner/hec.)		Per capita (kg)	
	1990	1991	1990	1991	1990	1991
CIS total	211.5	154.7	19.9	14.7	767	558
including:						
Azerbaijan	1.4	1.3	23.4	20.1	191	181
Armenia	[figures indistinct]					
Belarus	7.0	6.3	26.6	24.2	686	614
Kazakhstan	28.5	11.9	12.2	5.2	1702	708
Kyrgyzstan	1.3	1.3	2.0	24	342	300
Moldova	2.5	3.2	3.0	38.2	582	735
Russia	116.7	89.1	18.5	14.4	787	599
Tajikistan	0.3	0.3	13.1	12.3	57	52
Turkmenistan	0.4	0.5	23.6	19.3	122	125
Uzbekistan	1.9	1.9	18.8	17.5	93	90
Ukraine	51.0	38.6	34.9	26.3	983	743
Georgia	0.7	0.5	24.7	20.4	122	99

State grain purchases dropped, however, even more significantly. In 1991 collective and state farms sold the state only 39 mn tons of grain as opposed to 67 mn tons in the year before. Included in this total grain figure are only 26.9 mn tons of grain for human consumption, which is only [figure indistinct] kilos per capita when there is a demand for 166 kg per capita. Russian grain production supplied only 101 kg of the 150 kg needed per capita; Ukraine harvested 142 kg out of the 176 kg demanded. The situation is more complicated in the Asian republics: in Armenia the state has only 15 kg of grain per capita with which to feed its population which needs 161 kg, in Uzbekistan there are presently only 20 kg instead of 213 kg, and in Tajikistan there is a total of 5 kg of grain per capita when 204 kg per person are necessary.

Scientific

News Conference Discusses Uranium Sales Issue

LD2001101592 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0030 GMT 15 Jan 92

[Excerpts] A news conference has been held at the Ministry of the Atomic Energy Industry on charges that the former USSR sold uranium at dumping prices. Correspondent Kirill Shakhnovich reports:

[Being Shakhnovich recording] [passage omitted] Those making the charges say that the production and enrichment of uranium in our country is based on principles of a non-market economy, which is quite logical. They say that this gives them the right, in accordance with a law regulating the procedure for setting prices, to bring a civil suit against us and to force us to pay a dumping levy.

The organizers of the news conference explained the unfairness of this American case. The reason for the pricing policy is that we have more up-to-date extraction and enrichment processes than the leading Western uranium suppliers. Our labor is cheaper and, as a result, the production cost of former Soviet uranium is lower than Western, although we sell it for the same price as our Western colleagues on the uranium market: $22-23 per kilogram of unprocessed uranium. Moreover, our share of the world nuclear market is unfairly small at 36 percent, even though the territory of the former USSR accounts for 50 percent of world uranium reserves and processing capacities account for 20 to 25 percent of world capacities. If one adds to this the fact that our processing technologies are more advanced than many others, then we have the right to claim a share of the world nuclear market amounting not to 5 percent as now, but at least 25 percent.

These figures were sent to the relevant U.S. committee. How important is this trade to us? Let me cite some figures: Exports last year brought us $500 million. This could reach $1.5 billion per year. [passage omitted]

The states now part of the Commonwealth of Independent States are not ready to engage in the export of nuclear fuel. First, an International Atomic Energy agreement has to be signed. Second, despite everything, uranium reserves are distributed in the following way: 30 percent in Kazakhstan, 30 percent in Uzbekistan, 10 percent in Ukraine, and 30 percent in Russia. Only in Russia are there uranium enrichment and processing sectors. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Collapse of Union Threatens Space Program

LD2201061592 Moscow TASS in English 1121 GMT 21 Jan 92

[By TASS observer Aleksandr Romanov]

[Text] Moscow January 21 TASS—Once powerful and grandiose Soviet space programme may soon fall apart or simply be abolished as many deputies blame enormous expenditures for space research and military purposes for the current economic crisis in the country.

Many deputies believe "expenditures on space research and military expenditures are the cause of the current economic chaos," said academician Arkadiy Ursul, president of the Russian Space Academy, adding that annual budget expenditures on space research projects have never exceeded two per cent of the total.

"Nuclear power engineering has entered our life, and with it the problem of radioactive waste destroying the planet's ecology," Ursul said.

He said the academy is developing special containers for radioactive wastes and ways to transport them outside the solar system.

The academy's scientists are now developing projects to preserve the ozone layer, increase ecologically clean crops and use solar and space energy for the needs of the country's economy.

"Scientists believe technical means will eventually be able to neutralise such destructive atmospheric processes as earthquakes, floods, cyclones and typhoons," Ursul said.

International Affairs

Burbulis, Swedish Prime Minister Review Talks

LD2101225492 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2025 GMT 21 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondents Dmitriy Gorokhov and Igor Revyakin]

[Text] Stockholm, 21 Jan (TASS)—The official visit to Sweden by Gennadiy Burbulis, secretary of state of the Russian Federation and first deputy vice premier of the government, is taking place under the sign of new relations between two neighboring countries. He arrived in the Swedish capital today at the invitation of Prime Minister Carl Bildt.

Sweden was one of the first in the West to recognize Russia's state sovereignty on 19 December and this visit confirms the intention of the sides to make cooperation open, systematic, and multilateral.

In the first half of the day, Russian-Swedish talks took place in the government office of Rusenbad. They were devoted to the entire range of bilateral relations. They opened with a one-on-one conversation between Gennadiy Burbulis and Carl Bildt in the prime minister's office. The second round took place with the participation of delegations members. A joint news conference was then given in the Bella Venetsiya Hall.

The Russian Government, Gennadiy Burbulis stressed to journalists, has embarked on reforms connected with creating a system at the basis of which lie human rights. The more dynamic the transformations, the more stable Russia will become. We are convinced of the irreversibility of the processes that have begun.

The state secretary called the cabinet working under the leadership of Boris Yeltsin a team of like-minded people. The government is in agreement with the deputies on the main issues. He also expressed confidence that the reforms will be able to meet with more and more broad understanding in the country. In his view, Russian statehood will gain in strength. After Minsk and Alma-Ata, possibilities for preserving the territorial integrity of the Russian Federation have increased.

Reforms, Gennadiy Burbulis stressed, are part and parcel of our foreign policy. Russian diplomacy has a history going back many centuries and does not connect the past only with the communist totalitarian system. We are striving to build relations based on trust, and in Sweden we have encountered a wish to support the reforms.

According to Carl Bildt, Stockholm attaches special significance to the talks that are taking place. We are building relations with a new, independent, and democratic Russia. The head of Sweden's Government reported that the sides discussed the possibility of President Boris Yeltsin visiting Sweden. He confirmed this invitation to the head of the Russian state.

Relations with the Russian Federation, Carl Bildt pointed out, will be different from those with the Soviet Union. He noted the similarity of views held by the sides on the main issues, on democracy and on the market economy, which opens up prospects for new forms of cooperation.

The prime minister's said that the sides discussed problems which in the past cast a shadow over ties between the two countries, in particular the illegal activities of the special services of the former USSR in Sweden. All of us, Carl Bildt said, were unanimous in seeing this as a past phase in our relations. He did not exclude the probability of a journey to Stockholm by Yevgeniy Primakov, leader of Russia's foreign intelligence service, to discuss questions of cooperation in the fight against terrorism and the proliferation of nuclear weapon production technologies.

It was noted at the news conference that one of the subjects of the talks was prospects for cooperation in the conversion of the Russian defense industry. It is also planned to create working groups on problems of ensuring the safety of nuclear power engineering and the elimination of nuclear weapons.

In the sphere of business partnership, ties between Sweden's border regions and Murmansk Oblast, Karelia, and St. Petersburg will receive an important impetus. Cooperation in agriculture and ecology will acquire new forms.

After the talks, Gennadiy Burbulis was received by King Carl XVI Gustaf. Oleg Grinevskiy, the Russian Federation's ambassador to Sweden, took part in the conversation.

On the same day, meetings took place with leaders of Sweden's Export Council and also with leading scholars of the Foreign Policy Institute.

Delegation Members Once Expelled

LD2101140992 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 21 Jan 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Gennadiy Burbulis arrives in Sweden today on an official visit. The press and television of that northern country, however, have their attention centered not so much on him as on two members of his delegation—Vladimir Kozhemyakin and Sergey Aksenov. Both of these engaged in far from diplomatic activities when they worked at the Soviet Embassy, and Kozhemyakin was even expelled in 1990 on charges of spying, according to Swedish radio.

Kozyrev, Cetin Discuss Turkey's 'Model' Role

TA2101174992 Ankara ANATOLIA in English 1635 GMT 21 Jan 92

[Text] Moscow (A.A) Foreign Minister Hikmet Cetin, currently here for the first high level talks between Turkey and Russia since the dissolution of the former Soviet Union, said after a meeting with Russian officials that Russia was now aware of the important role which Turkey could play in developments in the region.

Talking to reporters after official talks between Turkish and Russian delegations, Cetin said that during the meeting he had explained Turkey's growing relations with the republics of the Commonwealth of Independent States and that the Russian side had accepted the explanation with understanding.

He also said that the Moscow Government well understood the important role Turkey could play in the Balkans, the Middle East and Caucasia and that Turkey could act as a model for the republics of Central Asia and the Caucasus as they strive to develop democratic and secular regimes with full human rights and raise the level of their economic development.

Cetin said that the Russian side was aware of the proximity Turkey feels to the Central Asian republics because of their linguistic, religious and ethnic affinities.

He said he had stressed however that this affinity had nothing whatsoever to do with pan-Turkist or pan-Islamic aims.

Cetin also said he had stressed the need for cooperation and not competition between Turkey and Russia in respect of the Central Asian republics.

He said he had told his Russian counterpart that Turkey could contribute to finding a peaceful solution to the problems of the strife-torn Caucasus.

He also said his visit had brought Russian-Turkish relations to a new level.

Consider Black Sea Cooperation

OW2101182092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1600 GMT 21 Jan 92

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" (DP) feature; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russia and Turkey agreed to cooperate in the Black Sea area, Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev said after today's talks in Moscow with his Turkish counterpart Hikmet Cetin.

Asked by a DP correspondent to dwell in more detail on issues that were discussed in Moscow, Mr. Kozyrev said, in particular, that Russia supported Turkish initiatives aimed at organizing "a Black Sea cooperation". It was agreed to sign a declaration of cooperation in the Black Sea area on October 3. The declaration, which was drafted by the former Soviet Union with Russia being an active participant, envisages, among other things, a coordination of environmental protection efforts.

According to Mr. Kozyrev, Russia and Turkey reaffirmed their commitment to the current legal status of the Black Sea, including that of the Bosporus and the Dardanelles Straits, as provided for by the Montreaux convention.

The Russian foreign minister pointed to the need to do everything possible to avoid a destabilization in the Black Sea area. He reaffirmed the Russian leadership's stand that the Black Sea fleet being part of the strategic forces of the Commonwealth is to remain under unified command. Simultaneously, some part of it may be handed over to Ukraine so that it could set up its own Navy. "What is important is to avoid a split and destabilization of the Black Sea fleet", Andrey Kozyrev stressed. He believed this idea "enjoyed universal support".

Turkish foreign minister Hikmet Cetin, in his turn, expressed his hope that the member states of the Commonwealth of Independent States would find peaceful solutions to all existing contentious problems which would help promote peace and security in the area. Russia and Turkey are neighbors capable of making an important contribution into achieving these goals, he stressed.

Cetin Meets With Khasbulatov

LD2101234392 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2000 GMT 21 Jan 92

[Text] A meeting took place today between Ruslan Khasbulatov, chairman of Russia's parliament, and Hikmet Cetin, Turkey's foreign minister, who is in Moscow on a visit. During the meeting the head of the Russian Government stated that Russia highly rates relations with Turkey. He added that real prerequisites exist for Russian-Turkish interaction and assured the guest that Russia will not stand in the way of the free activity of Turkish entrepreneurs in any region of the Russian Federation.

Khasbulatov To 'Quell' Soviet Germans' Concerns

OW1701214692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1830 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Friday [17 January] Ruslan Khasbulatov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet attempted to quell the concern of Soviet Germans over German autonomy. At Russia's White House meeting with Professor Karl-Heinz Hornhus, German parliament leader, Khasbulatov said that the Russian parliament did not support statements that a German republic on the Volga may fail to materialize. He said that the parliament had enacted a law rehabilitating the ethnic groups that had been repressed during the Stalin period, including the Volga Germans, and no on can revoke the law. "A republic of

Volga Germans will be restored," said the parliament chairman. There is a government commission inquiring into this issue. "Law will have force, and justice will triumph," promised Khasbulatov.

Discussing economic cooperation with West Germany, Khasbulatov noted the reluctance on the part of German businesspeople to invest in Russia. This reluctance, said Khasbulatov, is certain to impede stabilization in Russia and may bring to power people who would be less committed to the policy of cooperation.

Khasbulatov Receives Polish Envoy

LD2101211292 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 2000 GMT 21 Jan 92

[Text] Stanislaw Ciosek, ambassador of the Polish Republic to the Russian Federation, was received today by Ruslan Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet. Aspects of Polish-Russian bilateral cooperation and present problems in economic relations between Poland and the Russian Federation were discussed. Ambassador Ciosek presented the position of the Polish government on the matter of gas supplies from Russia to Poland contained in the government agreement signed in December. Khasbulatov said that the position of the Polish government will be urgently considered by the Russian authorities.

Ambassador, Polish Official on Troop Pullout

LD2201034192 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2002 GMT 21 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Mikhail Malchun]

[Text] Warsaw, 21 Jan (TASS)—The Polish media are obviously understating the numbers of personnel and combat equipment of the Northern Group of Forces that are being withdrawn from the country's territory, announced Yuriy Kashlev, ambassador of the Russian Federation to the Republic of Poland. He made this announcement here today after a conversation with Minister of National Defense Jan Parys, during which there was a wide-ranging exchange of views with regard to the sociopolitical and socioeconomic situation in both neighboring countries, the future of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] Armed Forces, the problems of indebtedness, and mutual accounts in the military and strategic sphere.

Recalling that last year alone more than 10,000 servicemen had left Polish territory, Yu. Kashlev drew attention to the precise observation of the time scale confirmed by the sides. "Nothing can influence the time scale established during the talks—15 November 1992 as the final date for the withdrawal of combat units," he said.

Commenting on these remarks, the representative for the press attached to the Republic of Poland's official on matters concerning the stay of foreign troops, Colonel Stefan Golebiowski, indicated that according to the assessment of the Polish side, only 4,300 servicemen of the Northern Group of Forces were withdrawn in 1991. It was not ruled out that the missing 6,000 people may have been transported home by air. The differences in the final figures were explained by the Polish authorities being insufficiently informed about the progress of the evacuation of the Northern Group of Forces.

Kozyrev on 'Geopolitics' in Foreign Policy

PM2101142592 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 Jan 92 First Edition p 5

[Interview with Russian Foreign Minister A. Kozyrev by Yelizaveta Leontyeva; place and date not given: "When We Abandoned Messianism. Conversation With Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev on Essence of Present Russian Diplomacy"]

[Text] [Leontyeva] Andrey Vladimirovich, which Russian diplomats do you hold dear?

[Kozyrev] From the last century I am very struck by Gorchakov. And Nashchokin from the 17th century. He is one of the founders of the Posolskiy Prikaz [central state organ in Russia, founded 1549, dealing with foreign affairs] and I could talk about him forever. Their distinguishing feature was that they combined clarity of purpose with tactical flexibility and pragmatism in attaining this purpose. These diplomats formulated national interests in a supremely concise and clear manner: "The good of Russia." I studied their activity and did not detect a grain of schematization in it.

[Leontyeva] What about the 20th century?

[Kozyrev] This century, regrettably, has no one special to boast of. We prided ourselves on the Leninist diplomatic school (Chicherin and others). But it contained far more doctrinairism than common sense. Later we dramatically lowered our standards [ponizili planku] altogether.

[Leontyeva] Did we recently have an autonomous concept for Russian diplomacy and, if so, how did it differ from all-union diplomacy?

[Kozyrev] Yes and no. If you take the declaration of state sovereignty as a point of reference, they set out the fundamental aims of the democratic Russian state, constantly reiterating the formula "within the renewed USSR." It geared foreign policy and diplomacy to two clear directives, the essence of any civilized state's policy. These being provisions of outwardly favorable conditions for internal development and for the democratic state in question to join the community of other states.

These directives certainly differ from all previous Soviet directives. In what way? Primarily in their lack of ideological messianism, that is, the conquest of more and more areas for socialism. Hence the task of confrontation with the West and orientation toward all the forces in the world (in the Third World, in particular) that were seen as natural allies against the West. The second side of this old Soviet concept was schematization—that stemmed from Marxist thinking (which, as we know, presents life as a schema).

Any schema in foreign policy is harmful for the simple reason that the world is changing all the time. The British say that there should be no permanent schema, there are permanent interests.

So, we abandoned the old dogmas and it immediately became clear that we must not engage in confrontation with the West, but, on the contrary, join the community of democratic states with a market economy, so we ourselves set course for that kind of economy.

In abandoning messianism we set course for pragmatism—both a sound and a useful phenomenon. Work with every state proceeds in accordance with the principle of ironing out things that divide us and exploiting things that close the gap between us for common purposes.

We rapidly came to understand that geopolitics, that is a normal view of natural interests, is replacing ideology. From this we concluded that the USSR's former Union republics constitute the first sphere of interests closest to us. In order to outline the second sphere, let us recall our two-headed eagle, one of whose heads is turned to the West, the other to the East. We will see East and West Europe, Japan, South Korea, and the United States... So, our sphere of interests is confined to the Northern Hemisphere. It can even be described as a band of developed democratic countries in which, if we take a look at the map, we see a gaping hole. There was a Communist empire here, hostile to that band.

Today we seem to find ourselves nowhere. Yet we must be the natural communicating link here. Then Russia with its Eurasian location has every reason—in terms of cultural potential, historical traditions, and resources—to occupy a worthy place in this band.

Certainly, we were previously part of the band of developed states but, admittedly, largely by virtue of a single criterion—the nuclear criterion. Now there must be a change of criteria: There must be more parity not so much in arms as in the quality of the population's life and the cleanliness of the environment.

Last, our third sphere of interests largely comprises southern countries. They include our direct neighbors—China, Turkey, Pakistan, and Afghanistan. There are also other countries that are fairly close to us. Although they are not direct neighbors, we must maintain good relations with them especially since many of them are our long-standing economic partners.

In effect I reported on this concept during my confirmation at the Russian Supreme Soviet. Since the minister was confirmed, his concept was also confirmed.

[Leontyeva] I recall that the formula of "constructive parallelism" was put forward at the time. That is, the intention was to deal both with Russia as it appeared in the international arena as an autonomous force and with the Soviet Union at the same time.

[Kozyrev] Yes, and I must stress that we were true to this formula and concept until the last day of the USSR's existence. We never speeded up the breakup of the Soviet Union by our foreign policy. What is more, we always advocated setting up coordinating mechanisms to support it.

I am sure that we would have been able to preserve the Union had people heeded us earlier and embarked on setting up the kind of mechanisms in foreign and domestic affairs that would satisfy the sovereignization of the republics, on the one hand, and create the need for joint actions on the other hand. And we would not have found ourselves in this wasteland where we are starting relations with the former republics—the states of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS]—virtually from scratch.

[Leontyeva] Ultimately, what did you achieve, fighting for the Union and following the concept of "constructive parallelism"?

[Kozyrev] We were able to form a civilized band of trust and good partnership relations both with the republics and with many Western countries, although the Union often directly opposed us. In our year or so of foreign policy work (through this fall) [as published] the Russian president has already established good personal relations and stable contacts with the top leaders of virtually all the world's leading states. (It is undoubtedly Yeltsin himself above all who deserves credit for this).

All our work represented a contribution to the future. And, as we can see, it paid off. Naturally, we were not working for one leader. At the ministerial level we were also able to get to know one another, and at the diplomatic level, too. By fall this year we had already signed many findings, declarations, and so on.

[Leontyeva] By December the USSR had collapsed. Should the concept of Russian diplomacy change now? Is it changing?

[Kozyrev] The independent state still has largely the same two tasks: To ensure the external conditions for reform and entry into the world community. The formation of the Commonwealth is proceeding with great difficulty. Literally until the 16 January session of the CIS heads of states, as I see it, the pendulum was swinging toward total independence for the states, toward denying cooperation although the basic documents had already been signed in Belovezhskaya Forest and Alma-Ata. I am now hopeful that the pendulum has finally swung back the other way, toward consolidation.

[Leontyeva] So, the CIS has proved viable [sostoitsya]?

[Kozyrev] Yes, I think that it will gradually become a fairly powerful, integrated association.

[Leontyeva] Can we now talk of any dates for the Commonwealth to come into being?

[Kozyrev] Making predictions is a highly thankless task now. Remember how many predictions there were regarding the unification of Germany; people were talking about periods of three, five, and 10 years. Yet now we have almost forgotten that there ever were two Germanies. So it is hard to make predictions. But we already have a tendency to cooperate closely. And we are working in that direction.

[Leontyeva] Who is engaged in diplomatic work in the new Foreign Ministry? Do you have your own luminaries?

[Kozyrev] I will not name names so as not to offend anyone. But I will say that the best people from the entire combined ministry have been thrown into this work. They form a large detachment of professionals with invaluable international experience. We will now try to focus this experience largely on our close neighbors abroad. Fedor Shelov-Kovedyayev, who previously became known as an active, highly principled people's deputy, is in charge here.

The task of joining the world community has become somewhat specific at this stage: The question of whether Russia will join the United Nations, whether it will once again establish diplomatic relations with other states has arisen. That is, will we start with a clean slate or continue what we have started?

We formulated the concept of a continuer-state [gosudarstvo-prodolzhatel]. No, it is not a successor state [gosudarstvo-preyemnik]. Strictly speaking, all the states that have emerged in the place of the former Union are its successors. They will take on the commitments that the Union took on in the past—on human rights, disarmament, and so on. While a continuer-state means that the thread of communication with the outside world has passed to Russia. Thus, we have inherited the Soviet Union's seat on the Security Council—that demonstrates our role as a great power.

[Leontyeva] Incidentally, we are now hearing a great deal said about Russia having lost the role of a great power.

[Kozyrev] I have an argument for the doubters: Boris Nikolayevich and the leaders of the four other powers will take part in a Security Council session 31 January. Does this not demonstrate our state's highly eminent role on the world arena?

Incidentally, we have succeeded in carrying out this process of "continuing" all commitments and all prerogatives without a hitch. I think that many people have not even noticed or assessed this. After all, were it not for the prestige of the Russian leadership and the prestige of Russian foreign policy, we would only now be joining international organizations.

[Leontyeva] The Soviet Union does not exist, but no embassies have left Moscow—actually they have all become embassies to the Russian Federation....

[Kozyrev] What is more, all Soviet embassies abroad have also become Russian embassies. Not only have all international links been preserved, but they are developing successfully.

Bakatin's Actions Said 'Absolutely Right'

LD2101153392 Moscow TASS in English 1333 GMT 19 Jan 92

[Text] Moscow January 19 TASS—Russia's Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev has described as absolutely right the handing over of information to the Americans on listening devices in the new building of the U.S. Embassy in Moscow by former KGB chief Vadim Bakatin, says a report circulated today by the Russian Foreign Ministry's information directorate.

Commenting on Bakatin's television interview broadcast on Saturday [18 January], Kozyrev expressed an opinion that the very fact of the handing over of such information must stimulate a policy of mutual example in order to abandon "cold war" practices in relations between the two countries and a transition to friendly relations.

Rogachev Completes DPRK Consultations

LD2101164292 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0845 GMT 21 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Nadashkevich]

[Text] Pyongyang, 21 Jan (TASS)—Special envoy Igor Rogachev, the special representative of the president of the Russian Federation, today left the DPRK on completion of four days of consultations with the Korean side. Matters pertaining to the situation in Russia and in the DPRK, the prospects for development of Russian-Korean relations, the situation on the Korean peninsula and also topical international problems were considered. On the issues of ensuring nuclear security on the Korean peninsula, DPRK Vice President Yi Chong-ok said in the course of the consultations that the Korean side would be doing everything possible to settle them.

"We held consultations useful to both sides in a frank and friendly atmosphere. We decided that contacts will be continued," said Igor Rogachev in conversation with the TASS correspondent.

During the consultations a general review of commercial and economic relations was done. A common intention to make joint efforts to develop mutually beneficial ties and to make bilateral cooperation fully appropriate to modern conditions and the national interests of Russia and the DPRK was affirmed.

Having pointed out that Russia is the legal successor of all the treaties of the erstwhile Soviet Union, the Russian president's representative proposed that the Korean side consider a number of new ideas. He noted in particular that commercial and economic contacts would be considerably expanded were they to involve three parties—Russia, the DPRK, and the Republic of Korea—or even four—involving Japan.

Russia is in favor of dialogue between North and South Korea, we support any contacts between the Koreas, Igor Rogachev said, concerning the efforts made lately by the North and South to diminish military-political confrontation on the peninsula and to set up cooperation and exchanges. He noted that were "a joint declaration by North and South on the nuclear-free status of the Korean peninsula" to be approved at the February meeting between the prime ministers of the DPRK and the Republic of Korea, Russia is prepared to act as guarantor of it.

Yi Chong-ok wished for the quickest possible stabilization of the situation in Russia and conveyed the good wishes of President Kim Il-song to B.N. Yeltsin, president of the Russian Federation.

A.S. Kapto, ambassador of the Russian Federation in the DPRK, took part in the consultations.

Officials Comment on S. Ossetian Referendum

LD2101123692 Moscow TASS in English
1131 GMT 21 Jan 92

[Text] Moscow January 21 TASS—The South Ossetian desire to unite with Russia "puts us in a difficult position", according to Galina Starovoytova, a Russian presidential aide on international affairs. "I believe we have to wait for the final results of the referendum, assess their juridical legitimacy and give the floor to the South Ossetian official representatives at a Russian parliamentary session", she told the NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA newspaper on Tuesday [21 January].

The majority of South Ossetians voted for unification with Russia at a referendum on Sunday [19 January].

Russia has been doing its utmost to evade direct involvement into the conflict between Georgia and South Ossetia, Starovoytova said. "but if Russia continues to ignore the demands of Caucasian peoples (living outside Russia), the North Caucasian autonomies, making part of the Federation, may also lose hope for its support. This is unacceptable both from the humane and democratic points of view", she said.

Fyodor Shelov-Kovedyayev, first deputy Russian foreign minister, is inspired by the South Ossetian "unanimous desire" to join Russia. "It is undoubtedly a new and important element of the recent developments. We shall attentively follow the situation in Georgia to be ready to propose a balanced solution", he told the NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA.

The new Georgian authorities qualified the South Ossetian referendum as an infringement on the republican territorial integrity.

Arms Exports Threaten Economic Interests

LD2001121292 Moscow TASS in English
1030 GMT 20 Jan 92

[Text] Moscow January 20 TASS—Uncontrollable arms exports and the lack of coherent export laws threaten Russia's economic interests, the KOMMERSANT weekly believes.

Last week Russian arms producers received several commercial offers to export arms, KOMMERSANT says.

The former Soviet Union was one of the world's leading weapons exporters. Last year it sold 11.65 billion dollars worth of weapons last year, compared to the United States' 10.76 billion dollars, France's 2.73 billion and Britain's 1.62 billion dollars.

Weapons sales are used to close gaps in local and republican budgets. Many defence plants are seeking new partners, willing to pay hard currency for their products, the weekly says.

Uncontrollable exports could threaten traditional Soviet weapons exports and affect the geopolitical situation in various parts of the world, KOMMERSANT believes.

Last week several Arab news agencies reported that Russia was considering supplying spare parts worth four billion dollars to Iran for military hardware, captured during the Iraq-Iran war.

Foreign Ministry 'Closely Watching' Algeria

OW2101184292 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1600 GMT 21 Jan 92

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" (DP) feature; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Russian Foreign Ministry is closely watching the developments in Algeria. According to a high-ranking diplomat, the Russian Foreign Ministry is taking into account the nature of bilateral relations, based on "many years of friendship and broad and fruitful cooperation."

As for the developments themselves, the same source said that "we act on the assumption that this is Algeria's domestic affair." "It is up to the Algerians and nobody else to choose their destiny. We serve the interests of our cooperation with that country," said the diplomat.

"We hope that the current process in Algeria will not go beyond constitutional framework and that the country would continue democratic reforms," emphasized the Russian Foreign Ministry's staffer.

Parliamentary Delegation Arrives in Norway

LD2101225492 Moscow TASS in English
2004 GMT 21 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Valeriy Loskutov]

[Text] Oslo January 21 TASS—A Russian parliament delegation arrived here today at the invitation of Norwegian parliamentarians—members of the Nordic Council.

The delegation, led by Leonid Gurevich, chairman of a subcommittee of the parliament's Committee for International Affairs and Foreign Economic Relations, will hold talks in the Norwegian Storting (parliament), the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Trade, Agriculture and Environmental Protection and will meet with representatives of Norway's business and financial circles and a number of charity organisations.

A wide range of matters connected with the establishment of interparliamentary contacts with a view to giving greater scope to bilateral cooperation between Norway and Russia in various fields will be discussed.

"An arrangement to hold this meeting in Oslo was made in Copenhagen in autumn 1991 during consultations with members of the Nordic Council presidium," Gurevich told TASS.

"It must be pointed out that the Norwegians have shown eagerness to cooperate with Russia. For our part, we have set up deputies' groups in parliament on a territorial principle.

"This delegation includes deputies who represent Kaliningrad, St. Petersburg, Murmansk, Pskov and Vologda. Thereby, in the process of consultations and contacts with the Norwegian side, we intend to move from theoretical discussion of matters to the elaboration of specific joint projects in application to Russia's northwestern regions," Gurevich said.

Spy George Blake Appears at News Conference

PM2001155192 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Jan 92 Morning Edition p 6

[Vladimir Skosyrev report: "The Spy Who Believes in Communism"]

[Text] The Russian Foreign Intelligence press service organized a meeting 15 January with George Blake, a former British Secret Service staffer who actually worked for the Soviet Union.

The news conference started on a melancholy note. Blake appeared a tragic figure: 40 years ago, in the name of the triumph of communism, he deliberately linked his fate with that of our state and paid a high price for this—first imprisonment in London's Wormwood Scrubs Prison, and then, after his escape, a 25-year separation from his beloved Britain.

So was his life in vain? Blake—who has adapted well to Russian life and even acquired the name and patronymic of Georgiy Ivanovich—does not think so. He continues to believe in the communist ideal and suggests that it is we sinful Soviet citizens and the citizens of other socialist countries who were, alas, unable to live up to it. Therefore the communist experiment failed. But had it succeeded, it would not be American experts sitting in Moscow today giving us advice on how to develop the economy—our advisers would be teaching the Americans how to build socialism.

But now the dream has collapsed, does Blake intend to return to Britain and serve out his time there? Answering an English journalist, he said that he is by no means obliged to do this. But, nevertheless, if he had to choose between an English and a Soviet prison, then he would prefer Wormwood Scrubs.

Is Blake afraid that the new Russian authorities will hand him over to the British? No, he is not. He has a Russian wife and son, and he voted for Gorbachev and Yeltsin in the elections. Besides, London is unlikely to start demanding his extradition.

Whose intelligence service is strongest?

"It would be a mistake to compare the work of intelligence services, and especially of individual agents, as nobody has full information on that score. Of course, the "cold war" was mainly conducted through the efforts of intelligence services, but they did not predetermine its outcome. The main point hinged on which system was winning the economic contest."

From a professional point of view, how do you evaluate V. Bakatin's handover to the Americans of the secret devices built into the walls of the U.S. Embassy?

"Of course, this is a wonderful gesture, but it placed the Americans in an uncomfortable position. It is like visiting somebody and taking that person gifts, only to find he has no gift for you."

The most disagreeable question asked by the English reporters concerned the fate of the Western special service agents whose names Blake revealed to our organs. Two of these agents were Soviet citizens, and the rest lived in other "Eastern bloc" countries. The Soviet authorities assured Blake that none of them would be shot.

"These were not innocent people. They acted against their government, well aware of what they were doing. In this sense, they were no better and no worse than I...I was sentenced to 42 years because somebody betrayed me in the very same way as I passed on information to the Soviet Union."

The public's new acquaintance with the secrets of the secret service did not end here. Press Secretary Tatyana Samiolis reassured us by announcing that a merger between foreign intelligence, headed by Academician Ye. Primakov, and the Army Main Intelligence Directorate was not anticipated. All that may be in question is coordination between the two services' actions.

What can be said about Oleg Kalugin's latest revelations across the ocean? He claims that KGB Colonel V. Yurchenko—who, according to our official version, was abducted by the CIA in Italy in 1985—was not abducted at all. He fled to the United States of his own free will. There, according to REUTER, he betrayed at least two Soviet agents to the Americans and gave them a mass of state secrets. If you stick to this version, it is unclear why the colonel gave his "guards" the slip in America and appealed to our embassy in Washington. A case of "cherchez la femme," Kalugin believes. Unrequited love is to blame for it all.

The press secretary resolutely dismissed this romantic theory. Yurchenko lost consciousness in Italy and came to in the United States, she said. Having escaped the grips of the CIA and returned home, he served a further five years in the KGB and retired only a couple of months ago. The source of O. Kalugin's information is unclear: At the time of the incredible incident with the colonel General Kalugin was no longer working in counterintelligence.

Became 'An Ordinary Russian'

PM2101101592 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 17 Jan 92 p 4

[Correspondent Captain B. Soldatenko report under the "Without a 'Secret' Stamp" rubric: "Over to George Blake. Alias Georgiy Ivanovich"]

[Excerpts] Only just over six months ago Western journalists were prepared to fork out huge sums of money not only for a meeting with the legendary Soviet intelligence officer George Blake but even for a photograph of him. But time marches on, everything changes, and Blake recently gave the go-ahead for a meeting with representatives of the Russian and foreign press, which was held at the Russian Foreign Ministry Press Center.

After living in our country for 25 years, he has become an ordinary "Russian." People now call him Georgiy Ivanovich more frequently than George. Blake has swapped his profession as a career intelligence officer for work as an analyst on questions of the Near East at the Institute of World Economics and International Relations. [passage omitted]

What was it that prompted the career intelligence officer to communicate with a potential enemy, which is what the Soviet Union was at that time? His actions were guided by the communist idea. Blake himself believes that his choice was honest and correct at the time.

Of course, one of the most interesting questions raised at the meeting concerned which of the special services worked more professionally during the "cold war" years. However, the journalists did not receive a concrete reply. "It was secret work," Blake remarked. "It is usual not to comment on it."

After the news conference George Blake presented to the journalists his new book "No Other Choice" [Inogo vybora net].

Federation Affairs

Yeltsin Decrees Form Commissions, Name Heads

PM2101151192 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 17 Jan 92 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "Appointments"]

[Text] By decree of the Russian Federation president, a Commission on Citizenship has been formed under the Russian Federation president. Yuriy Vladimirovich Zaytsev has been appointed its chairman.

By decree of the Russian Federation president, a Commission on State Awards has been formed under the Russian Federation president. Nina Alekseyevna Sivova has been appointed its chairman.

On 15 January parliamentary deputies elected A.V. Anikiyev chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities Commission on Repressed and Deported Peoples.

Yeltsin Meets With Nuclear Scientists, Others

LD2101165792 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 1600 GMT 21 Jan 92

[Text] On 21 January Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin had consultations lasting more than five hours with nuclear industry and energy managers and leading nuclear scientists. Three groups of questions were discussed: reduction in production of nuclear weapons and their destruction, nuclear energy safety, and management of the Russian Federation's nuclear industry. Special attention was paid to the working conditions and measures for the social protection of Russian scientists and specialists working in the sphere of nuclear technologies. A complex of possible measures for creating a worldwide system of control over production, storage, and destruction of nuclear materials was discussed. The president adopted concrete decisions on all the questions discussed.

Yeltsin Gives CPSU Funds to Protection Fund

LD2001191192 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 18 Jan 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Russian President Yeltsin has announced a decision to donate 4 billion roubles and 17 million dollars from former CPSU funds to the social protection fund.

Further on Coup Investigators' News Conference

Coup Preparation Outlined

LD2101202492 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 1545 GMT 21 Jan 92

[Excerpts] A news conference was held today for Soviet and foreign correspondents in the Russian Federation

Foreign Ministry press center on the results of the completion of the investigation into the State Committee on the State of Emergency [SCSE] case. Here is a report by Anatoliy Fedorov.

[Fedorov] The whole case is contained in 125 volumes. Here is what those assembled were told by Yevegeniy Lisov, head of the investigation team. Aleksandr Frolov, his deputy for the investigation, and Valentin Stepankov, procurator general of Russia, also answered journalists' questions.

Was the plot spontaneous or thought out and planned in advance? The news conference began with a reply to this question.

[Begin recording] [Lisov] The plot did not take place spontaneously. It was prepared and was the result of considerable organizational work on the part of the organizers of the plot. [passage omitted]

A meeting of the participants in the plot took place on 17 August at a conspiratorial site which bore the name ABC and which had been chosen in advance for special meetings. A plan was worked out at that meeting. It was not put down on paper, but it began to be implemented resolutely. This plan envisaged proposing to the president that he join them, these people, in order to implement, together with them, what they planned. If the president refused, the president would be isolated, removed from power, and then they would continue to act in the usual manner for such circumstances—introduce a state of emergency with all the resulting consequences.

During the investigation, literally during its first days, we found documents in the possession of some of the plotters which made it clear that these people had made preparations in advance for serious actions, for serious acts. They were planning to sack, from top to bottom, all bodies of power and administration and to set up temporary administrative committees in the country. [passage omitted]

As a better illustration I would like to cite one of the documents. It is called the draft presidential decree on combating crime. Here is what the draft decree on combating crime says in particular: Patrolling will be established in all populated points of our country. Patrols will be permitted, on detaining persons guilty of committing theft, robbery, and rape, to shoot the guilty without trial or investigation. That is what the decree says. To various extents there were quite harsh documents concerning other aspects of the social life of our state, too. [passage omitted]

Where did it go wrong? It went wrong where they had not, perhaps, completely expected it. They were unable to overcome the opposition of the Russian authorities and of the government in the first place and of those who supported the government at that difficult time. The plan which had been thoroughly worked out for storming the House of Soviets—it envisaged everything right down to the last details—was not put into operation only because they were forced to give it up in view of the fact that they would have had to kill several thousand people.

There are many questions about Gorbachev's role in this whole matter. We say unequivocally: Gorbachev did not give them any hints, obliquely or directly, to indicate that he was with them. This has been established without any doubt. However, his long contact with the members of the plot who were his close colleagues and some aspects of his character, in our view, gave the plotters the right to think that sooner or later, after one, two, or three days, [they would bring Gorbachev over to their side]; but they were unable to bring Mikhail Sergeyevich over to them. And it was this circumstance which in the end was decisive in making them go for the plot to seize power. [passage omitted]

[Unidentified correspondent] The KRYMPRESS agency. Yevgeniy Kuzmich, during the investigation were facts confirmed about the leakage of CPSU foreign currency funds abroad?

[Lisov] Such things did happen. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] [Question indistinct]

[Lisov] There were plans to intern the leadership of Russia, this has been established. Places had been prepared. And there were documents [words indistinct]. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Lukyanov Defense Viewed

LD2101164492 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1500 GMT 21 Jan 92

[Text] Despite the changes in the state and political structure in our country, the trial of the State Committee on the State of Emergency [SCSE] leaders should go ahead. This is the opinion of the investigating bodies and the Russian procuracy, spokesmen for which held a news conference in Moscow today.

The coup plotters tried to seize power not in the USSR but in this country, which means that the essence of the charges remains. This was announced by Valentin Stepankov, Russian procurator general, and Yevgeniy Lisov, who headed the investigating team. Our correspondent Vyacheslav Osipov was at the news conference. Here is his report.

[Begin recording] [Osipov] Judging by everything, the trial of the accused in the SCSE case is still some way off. Whenever it takes place, however, and in whatever form, be it open or in camera, I think that the most important factors will bypass the Supreme Court. This is because the grounds on which conspiracies, coups, and other such crimes against the state take root and grow have not been fully removed. Procurator General Valentin Stepankov stressed that a vast number of people had been seen by the investigators, but:

[Stepankov] We were neither judging nor arraigning people on account of their beliefs. Letters received by the investigating team show that there are people in positions of authority and many members of the public who share the plotters' views. You might think that since an investigation is under way, better to keep quiet. Yet Zhirinovskiy and his party are hard at work supporting and defending the accused, holding rallies and picketing Matrosskaya Tishina [prison where some of the accused are being detained]. So, these ideas today do have a place and support within our society.

[Osipov] How could there not be support for people who, currently in remand cells, declare as one that they acted in the public interest? Some of the accused are so far refusing to give any testimony at all. For example, Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov intends to talk to the investigators only after familiarization with the testimony of the others.

[Stepankov] He has opted for this line of defense, on the advice of his two lawyers, (Padva) and (Golshteyn). They have evidently agreed upon such tactics. It is his right. He could have decided to act to his own detriment, and refuse to talk to the investigators while not receiving any information during the course of the investigation. He could have chosen that option. Nonetheless, throughout the investigation we have been showing him all the expert findings and conclusions, and telling him what we were going to use them for. There is a large body of complex findings, about Foros and everything else. He was able to familiarize himself with them, and made his comments on them. Regarding the rest of the materials, the meetings and so forth, well, he has opted for this tactic. I do not see any violations here, and if he thinks that this form of defense is worthwhile, then he can go ahead.

[Osipov] This line of defense by Lukyanov does not tie in with his weak psychological state, of which the procurator general spoke:

[Stepankov] As to morale and mental wellbeing, it is Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov who most often shows fluctuations. The rest are holding up rather better in the circumstances.

[Osipov] Since most of them are in good health, Yanayev and his co-conspirators are little by little starting to read the folders of documents, facts, depositions, and testimony, and other documentation of the investigators: 125 volumes.

[Stepankov] Our criminal procedural law sets no time limits for familiarization. Here, everything will depend on the mood of the accused and their desire to familiarize themselves and stand trial sooner rather than later. But here's an example of the time it will take. After three days, Tizyakov had read and familiarized himself with five volumes of the criminal case. Varennkov got through one and a half, Kryuchkov one and a half, Plekhanov and Pavlov only managed to make a start. Yanayev and Sheynin also managed about the same, one to one and a half volumes each. Lukyanov waited for me to reply to one of his petitions, and has not yet started reading the case materials.

[Osipov] If that is how they are going to read it, will we need a trial at all? Maybe they will just be let off? No. Yevgeniy Lisov, the head of the investigating team, is definite:

[Lisov] I believe, and on this we are unanimous, that we certainly do need a trial. Whatever the verdict may be, even if all the conspirators are acquitted by the court, we cannot do without a trial because otherwise our society and people and the whole world will forever be wondering about these events. A trial is essential.

[Osipov] Do we really need a trial to make it all absolutely clear? Would it not be better just to have another news conference by the surviving members of the SCSE? They could tell us how not to carry out a coup. [end recording]

Gorbachev Role Discussed

OW2101145392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1354 GMT 21 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The conspiracy to seize power in August 1991 had been thoroughly prepared, but the putsch itself was triggered when the signing of a Union Treaty, which would have compromised the social standing and financial fortunes of most coup leaders, became a realistic possibility, said Yevgeniy Lisov, chief of a group investigating the coup attempt, at a Tuesday [21 January] press conference in Moscow.

More than 100 documents have been found that formed the basis of the Emergency Committee's decisions and rulings. According to Lisov, the sum total of these document were plans to scrap the entire existing system of power and to give power to an interim governing committee, which later came to be known as the Emergency Committee.

Touching on Mikhail Gorbachev's role, Lisov said that the ex-Soviet president had given to understand to the coup leaders that "he was not with them." But according to Lisov, Gorbachev's personality, or rather the way the coup plotters perceived him, appeared to warrant their hopes that he may side with them at a later stage in the putsch.

In turn, Valentin Stepankov, Russia's procurator-general who participated in the press-conference, said that some of the accused insisted that Gorbachev had indirectly given them a go-ahead signal at Foros. They concede though that as the moment of decision came, Gorbachev did not side with them.

According to the procurator-general, it would be wrong to oblige Gorbachev not to leave town (as a witness) at the moment.

High treason was the original charge moved against the coup leaders, said Stepankov, but the charge has been altered to an attempt to seize power. Stepankov disagreed that the demise of the Soviet Union signifies that the coup leaders cannot be accused of plotting against a nonexistent state.

Asked of IZVESTIYA, Stepankov reported that not only ex-Soviet President Gorbachev but also the presidents of the now sovereign republics had given testimony on the coup case, in many cases in writing. Many other Russian top-level officials have also testified.

Stepankov said that the trial would begin as soon as the accused have familiarized themselves with the 150 [figure as recevied] volumes in the case.

Stepankov also said that the investigation into who gave the video films of the interrogations of the coup leader to DER SPIEGEL is coming to an end and that the press would be kept informed of the investigating team's conclusions.

Gorbachev Charges 'Slander'

LD2101200192 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 21 Jan 92

[Text] [Announcer Irina Mishina] A statement from Mikhail Gorbachev has come in addressed to Yegor Yakovlev, chairman of the "Ostankino" State Radio and Television Broadcasting Company. Here is the statement. [holds up a hand-written statement]. The statement says:

On 17 January this year, in the VID program on television channel one, Belozertsev, one of the participants in that program, stated that I was involved—Gorbachev was involved—in organizing the August putsch. By way of confirmation, he cited the fact of the meeting with Pugo, former minister of Internal Affairs. I state, Gorbachev writes, that all this is a blatant lie from beginning to end. In this connection, many appeals are being sent to the investigation bodies on bringing a criminal prosecution against Belozertsev for spreading slander. Signed: Mikhail Gorbachev.

Trade Unions Schedule Second Strike 27 Jan

OW2101192392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1819 GMT 21 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On January 27, most of the industrial branches may suspend work for two hours. The press office of the Federation of Independent Russian Trade Unions informed IF [INTERFAX] that the Federation's branch and regional organizations are discussing the possibility of holding one more action of protest against the Russian government's policies. The strike held on January 16 did not become massive.

Meanwhile, Russia's Union of Medical Workers, with about 4.5 million members, will go on strike on January 29 to demand that their wages be raised to 1,600 roubles and be indexed monthly. Only emergency care will be given on this day.

Chairman of the Union of Medical Workers, Mr. Mikhail Kuzmenko, told IF that his union insisted on the introduction of paid medical services, given the government's inability to finance them. A lot of medical centers have almost closed down or give only emergency care to their patients.

Regional Strikes Protest Soaring Prices

LD2201101692 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 22 Jan 92

[Text] A wave of protests against soaring prices and falling living standards is sweeping different parts of the Republic of Russia. In Tula, south of Moscow, the city transport workers have held a one-hour warning strike. Next Monday [27 January] there is to be an all- Russia strike of medical workers. Miners in the Irkutsk region in Siberia and oil workers in Komi, in the north of the European part of Russia, have announced their prehistoric readiness [as heard]. The schoolteachers in Kaluga, south of Moscow, also intend to walk out. People demand stopping the growth of prices and taking measures to protect those in the low incomes bracket.

Officials, Journalists, Economists Hold Meeting

Gaydar on Meeting

LD2101181692

[Editorial Report] Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian at 1600 GMT on 18 January carries a four-minute recorded report by Olga Vasilenko on a meeting which took place on 18 January between members of the Russian Government and representatives of the intelligentsia at Moscow's Journalists' House. Among those present to discuss the current situation in Russia were First Deputy Prime Minister Gennadiy Burbulis; Yegor Gaydar, deputy prime minister for economic affairs; top economists; and journalists.

Commenting on the meeting, Vasilenko says: "I understood the government is simply asking journalists to help explain the situation and to help explain the policies being carried out by the government. This is to head off any opposition like the kind which exists right now, to some degree, due to a lack of understanding of the situation and ignorance of the government's policies, how it is implementing its program, and what this program actually is. That was the main point of the meeting."

Vasilenko's interview with Gaydar after the meeting is then broadcast. Vasilenko says some people are saying that the government is being held hostage by the bank and parliament and asks Gaydar for his reaction to people who are calling for the government's overthrow. Gaydar replies:

"First, these are not new forces. Simply looking at their phraseology, these are old forces which have existed in our society, which still exist, and they have not disappeared in recent months. Of course there is—and will be—a great desire to make political capital out of the inevitable difficulties our economy is experiencing.

"Furthermore, the first forces in Russia to speculate on this will be the people who have done everything to wreck the country's economy, who took us down an economic blind alley, who have condemned us today to the most difficult—most tortuous, perhaps—path toward improved health. But I am profoundly convinced that the society and people are sober enough to understand that this path will not bring any quick solutions."

Vasilenko asks what the government wanted from this meeting. Gaydar responds:

"First, to compare notes on what direction we are taking, and to listen to criticism, evaluations, and opinions on how close to the target our decisions have been. This will give us another opportunity to get a feel for the nervousness and mood of society and the intelligentsia, including those people who formulate public opinion. It will also allow us to try and formulate our own position more accurately, present our own arguments, and attempt to find mutual understanding."

Vasilenko then asks Gaydar if he was satisfied with the meeting, to which he responds: "Completely satisfied."

Further Gaydar Comments

LD2001212592 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 18 Jan 92

[Interview with Russian Federation Deputy Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar by correspondent A. Minayev; place and date not given; on the "Novosti" newscast—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Minayev] The purpose of the meeting of members of the Russian cabinet with eminent economists and representatives of the media was not so much to discuss reform itself as means of implementing it. [passage omitted] You are being criticized from both left and right. There is a point of view that you are not supported by any serious forces and do not enjoy popularity among the people. In connection with this, what is today's meeting for you—an attempt to gain a loyal press and to get sympathy from the public?

[Gaydar] No, this is a task which is usually carried out by a different method. It is implemented on the basis of various financial handouts which certain of the media are in the habit of asking for from the governments of various countries. We are categorically against such a position. This is a natural aspiration to understand each other. A direct dialogue is being formed, to clarify points of view and to compare positions.

Burbulis Talks to Journalists

PM2101125492 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 21 Jan 92 pp 1-2

["Extracts from stenographic record" of three-hour discussion at meeting between Gennadiy Burbulis, state secretary of the Russian Federation and first deputy chairman of the government, and 40 KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA correspondents in the Kremlin "a few days ago": "Gennadiy Burbulis: We Have No Time To Hope for a Miracle"—first paragraph is KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] This meeting with the state secretary of the Russian Federation and first deputy chairman of the government took place in the Kremlin a few days ago, and 40 KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA correspondents took part, including those from Georgia and the Baltics. Naturally, when representatives of power and the press come together, there are always a good many complaints against each other, or, to put it more mildly, "mutual problems." But the three-hour discussion naturally was not confined to this, and although it was not intended for the press, we publish today, with our interlocutor's permission, some extracts from the stenographic record.

On KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA's Name and the Attitude of Suspicion Toward the Authorities

[Burbulis] I see boldness and an indication of political wisdom in the fact that you have kept the newspaper's name even though history has abolished the structure that gave it that name. This is a case of people being intelligent enough to realize that we cannot simply dismiss the past, it is in us, in our very pores, in our feelings, in our thoughts.

I realize that one of the gravest legacies of the past is the attitude of suspicion toward the authorities. It is our old Soviet habit: Either lick the boots of the authorities, or else despise and ignore them with a concealed human dignity. You are dealing with representatives of Russia's reform cabinet, who are not in the least tempted to puff out their cheeks, stretch their necks out gracelessly like geese, and strut around on these thrones of power. We see our mission entirely differently. I will not deny that it is extremely interesting work, and it is a joy to have the right and bear the responsibility for Russia's reforms. But this work is like going down the mines, there is the face, and every day you have to venture down into the abandoned drifts of power and dig out the rock that people need.

In Answer to a Question About His Surname

In 1915 my grandfather Kazimir Antonovich, a gunsmith, emigrated from the Baltics. The family was entirely Lithuanian, but my father did not know the language and my mother is a Russian, Valentina Vasilyevna Belonogova. She used to reproach me at one time for not taking her name, it would have made life easier for me in our ideologically repressive environment. But to be honest I was never tempted to abandon my forebears' name... I lived in the Urals, in a proletarian settlement, I felt at home among both hooligans and bookworms, I spent my youth in a passion for soccer, and then after the Army I began my studies at the Urals University, in the philosophy faculty.

I expect the political archaeologists and historians will go on delving for a long time to find out what currents permeate Yekaterinburg: It is not the case that if Yeltsin is from Sverdlovsk, then you can understand that Burbulis comes from there too. The fact is that until 1989 we did not know each other, I got to know Boris Nikolayevich in Moscow, when I was elected USSR people's deputy.

Why Russia Needs the CIS

Nobody invented the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States], nor could they have done. For all the psychological and moral difficulties of parting with Gorbachev, this was one of those cases where you cannot deceive history. There are objective laws governing the disintegration of the communist totalitarian system, and we are all fellow participants in this process, with Gorbachev maybe the most actively involved, although he was not always capable of assessing his own results.

The CIS is an achievement, despite its natural contradictions. These contradictions have their origins in the Soviet Union, whose disintegration is taking place at a time when society is in no fit state—it is a sick society.

As far as the present Russian leadership is concerned, I wish to assure you that all the accords and principles formulated in Minsk and Alma-Ata will be observed to the utmost. That is our stance. People from Russia live in all the Commonwealth states, and we cannot ignore this for a moment, any more than we can ignore the fact that 80 percent of the Armed Forces consists of people who are from Russia or whose roots are in Russia.

If you take absolutely objective economic indicators, then probably only Russia could embark autonomously on reforms on the present scale. For the other states, of course, conditions are less favorable. But we are in no hurry and are not going to declare our own currency, our own customs, borders, or army, since that would be dishonest in historical terms and indecent in the context of the future. Finally, it would, if you like, be unjust with regard to the population of other states.

Whatever anxieties may now be aroused by relations within the CIS, they are far more favorable in terms of future prospects and constructive results than the quagmire we were wallowing in prior to 8 December.

I admit that the greatest difficulty for the CIS today is the problem of coordination, of common organs of administration. In the republics there is distrust and suspicion toward such bodies, the fear of losing the independence acquired, and that, in my view, is only natural for people who have outwardly moved on from their previous state, but inwardly still carry it within themselves.

On Relations With the Ukraine

We will do everything to achieve normal, law-governed relations with the Ukraine. It must be realized that the people who are in the leadership of the two states are today not always free in their actions, and the steps they take depend on complex maneuverings of political forces within the republics. Therefore we are not in favor of comradely exchanges of improvisations by leaders, we are in favor of full official talks backed up by thorough expert advice.

As soon as I formulated this idea to President L. Kravchuk, he immediately gave it unequivocal support, and the talks have already begun; for the Ukrainian leaders too it proved to be, in a sense, their salvation in the present situation. A Russian state delegation for talks on military and political issues, headed by Shakhray, went to Kiev.

What decisions were made? It proved possible to divide the Armed Forces clearly and cogently into three categories. 1. The strategic forces, which definitely remain under unified command. No one state can claim autonomous control of them, and they must stop—so to speak—dreaming of it. This also applies to the relevant units of the Black Sea Fleet. 2. That section of the Air Force that is destined for reduction and disbandment [rasformirovaniye]. In Minsk and Alma-Ata we discussed transitional forms, and various different time scales were proposed, but the principle is the same—in future these units will no longer exist on CIS territory. 3. The states' own armed forces, consisting of general-purpose troops—for primary defense and border protection. We also agreed that Russia and the Ukraine will coordinate such innovations and the taking of the oath.

As for the economy, the picture is the same. The sincere desire to solve the problem autonomously often runs aground on actions incompatible with reforms, like, for instance, the universal introduction of coupons in the Ukraine. The Ukrainians explain this away by saying that we cannot print the necessary quantities of cash. It must be admitted that the capacities of the printing presses are limited. But we have given a guarantee that we will settle all accounts with the republics with regard to the inadequate money supply on a proportional basis. Admittedly according to our own calculations. Most often they demand from us sums that are many times in excess of our calculations—there is a kind of conflict of interests here too.

I think the Ukrainian leaders are somewhat overestimating their national economy's capacity to exist on an autonomous basis. But we are not going to quarrel with the Ukrainian leadership or scoff at them, we are going to learn mutual understanding together.

What We Have Not Yet Told the People of Russia

If we make decisions and bear the responsibility for them, this does not mean that we reveal in full all the information on which the decisions are based. We are to this day refraining from telling the people of Russia about the real economic legacy. A staggeringly poor legacy. Totally chaotic finances and a budget policy that has been distorted for decades. Total self-deception regarding the real state of affairs with money circulation. We have not told the population the whole truth about the debts of the former USSR, either. We are an insolvent country in terms of credits. The consequences are such that import deliveries to the most important sectors are not taking place. The disappearance of various kinds of quotas and allocations has disrupted many vital structures. All this is falling apart, because it was supported not by economic laws, but by other laws, by the system of power. To say nothing of the total distortion of the national economy's structure and the militarization of the economy through and through. To say nothing of the neglected technological state of base sectors and extraction sectors. Gas is more or less OK, everything else is total degeneration and neglect; here the people in charge put absolutely no value on the mechanism as a whole, and gave no thought to the future.

Whether a Unified Russia Will Survive

There are republics that are ostentatiously setting their course toward sovereignty and independence at all costs, even at the cost of Russia's own integrity. This flight from the imperial system and the degenerate economy is understandable.

I am convinced that the more rapidly the reforms proceed, the more quickly we will see the disappearance of the following way of looking at things: "Give me independence at all costs, and come what may I will have a better life than you will, amid all this chaos." But we are proposing an entirely different prospect. Yeltsin's government has no desire to recreate the monster state and all the follies of the distributive economy. Our desire is different—to sow new seeds in the economy, change attitudes to ownership, free the rights of local organs of power as far as possible, and grant maximum freedom to economic entities. If we act toughly and imperiously in some cases, people must realize that such sweeping changes cannot be achieved any other way. It is quite wrong today to accuse us of recreating repressive command structures, merely substituting Russian packaging for the Union packaging.

I think there is a vast difference between the position of "ultraindependent" organs of power in the localities, and the position of the majority of the population. It is no accident, for instance, that in Tatarstan there was not even any attempt to resort to a nationwide referendum. We are criticized for behaving too calmly with regard to the Tatarstan leadership and initiating a process of talks. I myself represented the Russian leadership at those talks and I think we acted rightly and properly. We must engage in talks with the republics within Russia and show that their sovereignty can be realized in a more civilized manner by us jointly.

You cannot just go off into nowhere. As for the desire, in some cases, to join the CIS, it must be borne in mind that a fundamental document of the Commonwealth is now being drawn up, which will strictly define the rules for admission, secession, and expulsion from it. Second, work is now under way in parallel on a new [Russian] Constitution and Federal Treaty, but most likely all the temptations will be removed by the third path—the economic reforms. These will define the rules that must be observed, because the reforms require unified economic actions.

On the Communists

We are often asked, are you or are you not going to do anything about the Communist apparatchiks, don't you see how they have settled themselves in all the economic structures and could block the reforms? We answer: We are not so stupid and naive as to start ideological campaigns again. The most powerful weapon for us today is real reforms. And as for the former Communist, if he has found his way into a commercial structure, and if it is beyond us now to find out where his capital originally came from, and if we cannot, in this particular case, guarantee the purity of his legal conduct, then let him work. We should draw him into the objective logic of a competitive economy, where the real property owner emerges, and thereby rid ourselves of the fear that the Communists will band together like revanchists and lie in wait for us round the corner. Although there is a threat of a revanchist fellowship of that kind. And you know that better than I do.

On the Press

I would formulate the task of the press as follows: to convince every Russian that the reforms that are under way are vitally necessary and practicable, and that he has an interest in that. I insist on this supreme task as a worthy and at the same time an urgent goal. To convince people that this is for all our sakes and that it is a vitally necessary task, that there is no time for doubt or scoffing, no time to hope, Soviet fashion, for a miracle, no possibility of relying on our purely religious tradition—that everything will pass, that some mystic rites will be performed, and a miracle will take place, and we will suddenly start producing more, distributing it fairly, and living in harmony.

The press today can tread on two pedals, but they lead society in different directions. One pedal is that of emphasizing the catastrophe view, dragging people down into a sense of fear of the future, constantly deriding mistakes. You are very skilled in your use of this pedal. It sometimes works so well it takes the breath away. The pen is willing,

the images appear, the textual muscle starts to work, and every word seems to slot into place.

But there is another pedal too. If yesterday's fear of violence and lawlessness has today turned into people's fear of the future, of the unknown, then it is criminal for us to exploit that fear. I am convinced that the current reforms of the social system in Russia are irreversible. And fine revolutionary romanticism is called for in a new capacity. I am not now ashamed to appeal to those same revolutionary deeds—when there was the fine human dream of a better life, though it was squeezed into the framework of the crazy idea of making everyone happy by force. Why be ashamed of this romanticism, if we change the means to that dream—not through force, but through the liberation of the natural logic that we ignored for decades. That is fine! I advocate that you and I should not be ashamed to revive sound, vital aims and ideals, first of all in ourselves, and then in all those who listen to us and who value the intelligent, good, honest words of a professional.

People ask us—what is the overall idea on the basis of which you want to unite people today? And they expect an unequivocal answer.

We are in favor of the rebirth of Russia with all the merits of our inimitable history, with all the spiritual and cultural riches, but with a categorical ban on its acquiring the features of national bolshevism.

Russian patriotism is appropriate today not as nostalgia for holy or accursed Rus, not as the third Rome, not as our own path to the outside world, but only as our own unique interpretation of world civilization with all its basic democratic values. No one can invent or conceive of anything else.

Deputy Minister Cited on Subscription Charges

PM1501141592 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Jan 92 Union Edition p 2

[Interview with Boris Butenko, Russian deputy minister of communications, by Igor Andreyev; date and place not given: "Ministry of Communications Warns: No Increase in Subscription Charges, but Only for Those Who Have Already Applied"—first two paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] As has already been reported, the Russian Ministry of Communications has abandoned its intention to raise rates for the delivery of periodical publications to subscribers in 1992. The publishing houses, including IZVESTIYA, have started to breathe again.

What caused such a drastic return on the part of the Ministry of Communications to its initial positions? Perhaps something like the overstocking of sausage and sour cream left unsold at the immoderately inflated price has occurred in the department?

[Butenko] Nothing of the kind, objects Boris Butenko, Russian deputy minister of communications. We intended to introduce the new rates for delivery on an entirely realistic basis. Transport expenses which we incur when we settle accounts with civil aviation, the railroad, and motor transport enterprises have become substantially more expensive. These departments' rates have increased 400 percent, 216 percent, and 260 percent respectively. And as a result, having received money in advance from the publishing houses for our services, we have a shortfall of about 1.5 billion rubles [R]. Believe me, the figure is entirely authentic and has been repeatedly checked by independent experts.

It was this sum and no more that we intended to exact from our partners by raising tariffs 150-200 percent. Of which fact we informed them in good time, bringing together representatives of the publishing house in the middle of December last year. It was supposed that publishers themselves would assess what contribution we communications workers are making to the increased price of everything and what contribution is being made by the paper workers and printers. And they would decide for themselves what to do.

Unfortunately, we have not found mutual understanding with the publishers. Moreover, a barrage of reproaches descended on us from virtually all press organs. We found ourselves out on a limb, so to speak, although the Ministry of Communications' share in the increased cost of subscription is not decisive.

[Andreyev] So by retaining its former tariffs will the Ministry of Communications make good the R1.5 billion it has not received from the publishing houses?

[Butenko] In general that is our internal business but I can say that we found this sum in bits, taking it from ourselves. To some extent we have deprived the department's future of funds. Somewhere we are failing to construct an automatic telephone station or to provide telephones for a rayon or village because we lack these R1.5 billion... Alas, there are no miracles.

[Andreyev] How firmly with the Ministry of Communications retain the previous rates for the delivery of the press in the stormy year of 1992, fraught to all appearances with the danger of many cataclysms?

[Butenko] I think it will retain them. At any rate I can give a 90 percent guarantee that these rates will remain unchanged. But we shall charge current subscription in 1992 at the new rates.

[Andreyev] Is it possible to take a look today at 1993?

[Butenko] We are preparing in advance for the subscription for 1993. We want to present the publishing houses with complete freedom to choose their partners all along the manufacturing chain. For instance we could merely register subscription, collect money from the population, and supply publishing houses with subscription documentation. Other departments, even private firms, could dispatch the press and distribute it in cities and villages and supply publications to each subscriber. We intend, if we undertake the latter operations, to take from the publishing houses a payment dependent on the remoteness of the particular rayon, city, or village where subscribers live. Correspondingly one and the same newspaper will be more expensive for someone living in Magadan or Yakutia than it will be for a Muscovite, for example.

Khasbulatov on Changes, Yeltsin Role

LD0901185292 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1600 GMT 31 Dec 91

[Interview with Russian Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov to Oleg Poptsov, chairman of the All-Russian Television and Radio Company in Moscow on 31 December—live or recorded. Herewith follows the complete text of Khasbulatov's interview with Radio Rossii; the excerpted version of "Khasbulatov on Changes, Yeltsin Role" was published in the 2 January Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pages 65-67.]

[Text] [Poptsov] We are approaching the end of the year. The year has been a difficult one and even now in defining this year it is difficult to say what was more difficult—its beginning, its middle, or its end. Looking back, I would like to put this question to you as Supreme Soviet chairman, as someone who takes his place every day and starts by saying comrade deputies, please take your seats, please register your presence: This year—what do you see in the parliament's activity—or for yourself personally—as being success and what do you recall with bitterness?

[Khasbulatov] First and foremost, of course, I remember with bitter feelings those wasted months of fruitless discussions in attempts to convince each other—for example, practically the whole year was spent in totally fruitless attempts to convince Gorbachev, Mikhail Sergeyevich, the former president, of the fact that unfortunately whether we like it or not the realities are such and clearly that we have to build our relations with the republics and states in a somewhat different way. I am absolutely sure that had there been such an understanding at the central level at that time then we would probably not have been enduring such a great misfortune today. I have to say that I certainly do not take any pleasure in the Soviet Union's disintegration. Whether this union was indeed bad or whether it was good, it was our Union, it was our country. But what can one do about it? Life is like that. Life has arranged things in such a way that the Russian state today is an absolutely independent state. Consequently—and here I would liketo get right back to our subject—the Russian parliament, the Supreme Soviet of Russia, of the Russian Federation—the official name of the RSFSR which was changed by the Supreme Soviet a few days ago in complete conformity with the Constitution, may it be said—now possesses complete authority, legislative authority, in our country. In the past, you know, when there was the Union parliament and the Union president and when somehow or other they proceeded on the basis that there could be mistakes on our part and that they would correct them there, that we are not fully responsible for the state of the country, that we are limited...

[Poptsov] That you might play at being the opposition.

[Khasbulatov] That we might play at being the opposition, well now that feeling must of course go away completely, it must disappear completely. We have talked about this with our deputies, but it seems to me that far from all of them have yet been reached by complete understanding of this new quality of the Russian deputy—far from all of them yet. Although I have to say that, of course, our parliament has completely matured. It has almost become professional. We are completely in tune with one another and have responsibility for very grave issues. Quite simply, I take pride in the fact that our deputies support their chairmen. Instances when our opinions diverge are very rare. The quality is quite different. There's no one looking over us. There is the president, leading executive power and there is parliament, balanced forces, each of which must of course back up the force, authority, and correctness of the decisions being taken by the other. For the existence of presidential power is inconceivable without serious parliamentary power and naturally, parliament cannot exist without a normal presidency which is strong, confident, and authoritative.

[Poptsov] What about the joys? Where did the successes lie?

[Khasbulatov] I had few joys, very few joys. Do you recall that there was an attempted palace coup in February/March? That was this year, when an attempt was made to overthrow Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, who was then chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet and, moreover, it was incited by Central authorities. We now know all about that and everything that lay behind that. It did not arise spontaneously. It was a very serious plot. And, of course, it failed, and I nurture the illusion that I played some sort of role in thwarting this plot. [chuckles] And, of course, when we thwarted all of that, that was also a sort of joy, a sort of relief that we had not succumbed to the attempt by the reactionaries to carry it out.

There was joy from my work when, say, Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, chairman of the Supreme Soviet, was victorious in the presidential elections. Of course, there was sincere joy, because we all worked for this victory, we considered that this was a victory for the democratic forces, that this was a victory for legality, that this was a victory linked with the qualitative transformation of our Russian Federation. Of course, it was a major victory.

Finally, one can that there were upsets when, for example, I failed to be elected chairman of the Supreme Soviet and that was hurtful. I agonized all the time about what blunders and what mistakes I had made. Of course, I absolutely did not try to find something to blame outside myself. And when I was elected chairman of the Supreme Soviet I did not feel joy, either, because I had already worked very closely here alongside Boris Nikolayevich, and I already understood the degree of reponsibility which lies on the shoulders of the chairman. And when I was elected I did not feel joy so much, but rather I had a sense of the great burden involved. And, of course, it with this feeling that I work at present.

[Poptsov] Ruslan Imranovich, there is a great deal of argument on this subject, and I think that many times either the president, for his part, or you, for your part, or members of government, have been trying to convince society and themselves that there is absolute unity. Although it is perhaps normal—and in this regard I would agree with the president—that certain problems must cause controversies. This is actually necessary in fact and should not be regarded as some sort of disaster. And yet there is this problem of cooperation between parliament and government. Two days ago, the government adopted a very substantial document on privatization. I was a witness. I attended the session. I saw the president, at his own initiative and with the support of government leaders, saying that a decree should be arranged straight away. I have to ring up Khasbulatov immediately and get the Supreme Soviet Presidium involved, he said. We cannot afford a lengthy discussion of this: we would lose a month. I am going to leave the government session now. I am going to talk to Khasbulatov. The government held its session. Then the president rang and said everything was in order. The Supreme Soviet Presidium was standing by. And Burbulis was immediately instructed to go. He went and a general model for action was worked out. And this means that we shall embark on privatization promptly. That is just one example. It is an example that shows how much headway we have made.

Another example that is being discussed relates to the adoption of a decree merging the State Security Committee and the Ministry of Internal Affairs, where there has been controversy. Which problems do you feel are being resolved and which problems are still splitting society?

[Khasbulatov] Yes, you know I have already had to clarify this matter several times because our press has been a little incautious and perhaps unprofessional in the way it raised these matters, attempting to accuse parliament of conservatism at a time when the government was devoted to the ideals of democracy, and so on. This is, of course, a rather juvenile explanation. The thing is that certain issues are strategic. They come under the jurisdiction of parliament, either of the Supreme Soviet or of the Congress. If executive power and even the president impinge on these interests I will, of course, be the first to stand up and say, no you cannot do that. They are matters for the Supreme Soviet. And that is what happens. But since our people are not used to this system of interaction and work, some of the ignorant ones usually raise an unhealthy racket about it. The thing is that certain issues are strategic. They come under the parliament's jurisdiction, either of the Supreme Soviet or of the Congress. But since our people are not used to this system of interaction and work, some of the ignorant ones are usually raising unhealthy racket about it. As to relations between the president and the Supreme Soviet, there are no problems here. For this has now become a custom: Boris Nikolayevich used to be Supreme Soviet chairman himself. I used to be his first deputy. Of course, when I was his first deputy, nobody outside knew then on what terms we were and how we worked together. But I think he said on several occasions that he worked well with Khasbulatov since the latter always had an opinion of his own. Now we work well together, too, and we always reach agreement. But you see, I do not want to criticize anyone here. Government is placed between the Supreme Soviet and the president, and that is a very important factor. If the government is professionally competent and knows its business well, it must be engaged in handling its own affairs as required by its professionalism. For instance, economic management, organization of our business but not of policies. In the government there must not be any policymakers. And the claims of some government members to some sort of political leadership only lead to political squabbling. Once again I just very much admire the president who has begun to understand this increasingly better. If one has become part of a government team, one must be involved in managing one's own specific section of work, and must forget all about politics.

[Poptsov] But let us be sufficiently fair, Ruslan Imranovich. Sometimes the Supreme Soviet, too, is trying to set up parallel structures for economic problems and so on, to an extent claiming for itself the government's right to act.

[Khasbulatov] You see, I do not wish to hide from you that, if say the Supreme Soviet sees that the government fails to cope with its tasks, then naturally we would not be able to turn a blind eye to this. We will start interfering more actively in the affairs of the executive power. I do not wish to conceal this.

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We will intervene more vigorously in executive matters. I do not want to hide this. We cannot afford dissatisfied people because we are playing at democracy here.

[Poptsov] But I think that one should not apportion blame here—who is to blame most, if we ...

[Khasbulatov interrupts] Yes, let's not apportion blame. Accountable to the people are two institutions: the Supreme Soviet and the president. No one else is accountable to the people. The government is accountable to the president and not to the people. Therefore, both the president and the Supreme Soviet can dismiss the government or any member of it. It is this we are talking about: that accountable to the people are the deputies. People are going to tell our deputies face to face: What are you doing over there? Individual citizens couldn't care less what the set-up here in Moscow is—where the government is and where parliament. They say, you. And they are right to do so, because parliament sanctions the actions of the government. And given that it sanctions them and that parliament adopts laws drafted by the government, parliament is entitled to bring its influence to bear on the government in the appropriate manner.

We will not permit the government to attempt to escape our clutches. I am saying this quite openly. You know—I have to tell you—we are not trying to be a substitute for it, not in any case. You have seen this. Look, virtually every draft law in the past two to three weeks at this difficult time we have been helping through, we have been helping it along, we have really been helping. In those instances when it seems to us that a draft law is feeble, we have been helping. We have many professionals: among the deputies, in the committees, the advisers in the Supreme Economic Council. To all intents and purpose, now—you know—the entire scientific intelligentsia is going to the Supreme Soviet. Our Russian scientific intelligentsia tells us: We are ready to help you. The institutes are going there, those directly engaged in production are going there, directors of enterprises are going there. They tell us: We are ready to help you. And, we are helping the government bring the draft laws up to scratch, we are not blocking them, we are not trying to pick hairs. We really want interaction, mutual understanding. This was our advice. In particular, we ... [changes thought]... I asked Boris Nikolayevich and he, indeed, somehow recommended to his government that it should associate more frequently with our deputies and explain things to them.

[Poptsov] I think that now such contact has been established and this is very important. Now, I would, this is not even a question, but to conclude: We are at the end of the year—the year is drawing to a close. So then, what would you tell your voters?

[Khasbulatov] Oh! What would I say?

[Poptsov] Well, what would the voters appreciate already?

[Khasbulatov] Yes, yes [word indistinct]. I would like to tell our voters that I very well understand the grave situation, all these adversities, all major annoyances which they have in their lives to date, all this shortage of food, goods. I know that many are suffering because they are unable to give their kids a start—pensioners, disabled people, servicemen. I assure you that we see all this. Every day I meet people. I read hundreds of letters. I talk to our officials in oblasts and krays, in our Russian republics. I assure you that we will indeed try to do everything in order to alleviate this grave situation.

What else am I to say now? Frankly speaking, I would like somehow to ask my fellow citizens' pardon for the fact that so far we have not improved their position. Speaking frankly, I do feel personally culpable in this matter. I am trying somehow to compensate, and to be honest I've already almost exhausted the deputies, and our apparatus is working night and day. We are trying to strengthen this economic base in order to help our people somewhat. All in all, I'll be doing all I can to improve the situation, and not in some far-off future. I believe in our reforms, I believe in our president, I believe in our parliament. I know that we in the Commonwealth have good cooperation, it is coming off. I am saying that we are doing a great deal to improve the situation of our people.

[Poptsov] Well then, Ruslan Imranovich, I would like to say happy New Year to parliament and happy New Year to the chairman of parliament. A very great deal is being said about this Year of the Monkey and the difficulties it will bring. It is a leap year, always a difficult year. We have to get through it properly. We have to win through. We have to triumph. Democracy must stand its ground.

[Khasbulatov] Stand its ground it must. Thank you. Happy New Year to all. And thank you for your support. I can feel great support from our fellow citizens.

Rumyantsev Interviewed on Russian Statehood

PM1601143992 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 15 Jan 92 First Edition p 3

[Interview with Oleg Rumyantsev, member of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet and responsible secretary of the Constitution Commission, by observer Andrey Sharapov; place and date not given: "Last Chance to Revive Russia's Unified Statehood"]

[Text] [Sharapov] Oleg Germanovich, the problem of Russia's federative structure is today becoming, together with the economic reform, a question of paramount importance. Your commission has drawn up a draft document on the delimitation of powers between the state organs of Russia and of the republics which make it up. What brought about the need to create this document?

[Rumyantsev] The chief thing now for all who are engaged in the state building of the Russian Federation is the question of what must be done to prevent Russia's destruction according to the "Union scenario." We consider the idea of a federative treaty unacceptable for a number of reasons. Unlike the USSR, Russia was never created by the subjects of the federation (I will make the proviso that there existed just one subject of the federation, which in 1918, together with Russia, created a new state formation—Bashkiria) but was created through its own autonomization of a single whole. On signing such a treaty you get the illusion that the parties signing it are, as founders, recreating something that had, in fact, long existed as a constitutionally enshrined federation. The federative treaty also "lowers" federal power to the level of an equal partner with the subjects of the federation, although three levels of power exist in all federations in the world: federal power, the power of the subjects of the federation—republics, lands, etc.—and local self-government. Such a treaty contains elements of a constitution—thanks to which we cease to be a constitutional federation and become a treaty federation, i.e. a commonwealth. Here unified Russian statehood comes to the end, as it were, of its history of many centuries, and this is unacceptable. The most dangerous thing is that the treaty documents are an element of a confederation, and as soon as the parties that have signed the treaty abandon their treaty obligations for one reason or another, Russia will collapse with a still greater crash than the USSR.

It is surprising, but the possibility for Russia's individual national minorities to influence statewide policy is today considerably in excess of the proportion of these minorities within Russia's national makeup (17 percent) and even of their proportion within the territory generously allocated to them (approximately 50 percent of the whole of Russia). Emotional statements "in the name of their people" about the nations' right to self-determination, etc. are becoming the "stick" which everyone fears for some reason and because of which they get involved in adopting frequently ill-considered and shortsighted decisions.

[Sharapov] Could you cite examples of such decisions?

[Rumyantsev] The most vivid example is the creation of the Adyge Republic at the heart of Krasnodar Kray, where the indigenous population (with a great past—no one disputes this) constitutes just 20 percent. There was no expression of the will of the majority residing there, including the Cossacks, but the oblast soviet's decision to form the republic was approved in Moscow, and today the Adyge Republic is becoming a state formation with rights just as full as the Russian Federation. People there also elected a president recently, although we did not grant a legal basis for this. Now it is starting to be said that there is a "people" (indigenous) and there is the "population" (all the rest), and there is even talk of including Adyge in the so-called Mountain Republic.

We must remember the expression of the will of the majority of Russia's inhabitants, because this is one of the largest monoethnic countries, where 83 percent of the population is of a single nationality—they are Russians.

We propose a rational, constitutional path taking into account both world experience of federative development and specific Russian conditions. The main ideas enshrined in the draft new constitution are as follows: In Russia there must not be first- and second-class subjects, sovereign republics—almost UN members—and "milch cows" in the form of krays and oblasts. All subjects of the federation, regardless of their name, have equal constitutional-legal status.

The economic expediency of protecting their interests in the market and coordinating efforts there will lead, sooner or later, to the shaping of regions such as the Far East, the Urals, etc. The draft constitution provides for such an amalgamation of oblasts into territorial communities—lands possessing the rights of a subject of the federation.

Finally, the draft constitution provides for a clear division of powers into four levels: the powers of federal organs, the joint authority of the federation and its subjects, then objects subject to the exclusive authority of parts of the federation, and, finally, local self-government.

[Sharapov] Many Russians were expecting the new constitution to be adopted as long ago as last fall...

[Rumyantsev] At the last Congress a counterpropaganda campaign was organized by the forces of Russia's communists, the "Smena" deputies' faction, and certain "national deputies," despite which Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, chairman of the Constitution Commission, submitted the draft constitution for examination and delivered a report on it; and this means that, after additional work on it, the constitution will be adopted. In a recent conversation Ruslan Imranovich Khasbulatov agreed that the adoption of Russia's new constitution will be the priority task of the Congress of People's Deputies this spring.

However, spring was a long way off, and so we proposed a compromise: to draw closer the ideas of the federative treaty and of constitutional reform. Under a joint ordinance by Yeltsin and Khasbulatov dated 6 December 1991, a working group was set up to reach agreement on just one key subject—the delimitation of powers between Russia's federal organs of state power and the organs of power of republics, krays, oblasts, etc.

We encountered a number of difficulties in drawing up the document. Abdulatipov, chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities, for example, believes that this treaty must acquire the force of a fundamental law after its ratification. I categorically disagree with this. Such a treaty is a form of international law, while a constitution is an intrastate act, and a treaty that is automatically included in the constitution will be a "foreign body" in it. If one of the republics abandons its treaty obligations and wants, for example, to form a budget system itself on all levels, as the Tatar and Bashkir leaders propose, both the federal budget and the federal constitution will inevitably at once be wrecked.

We arrived at a mutually acceptable solution: An agreed draft law on the delimitation of powers came into being, which, following its adoption by the Supreme Soviet on its first reading, will be distributed to the subjects of the federation for agreement and additional work, will then be adopted by the Congress of People's Deputies, and, as a Russian Federation law, will become a chapter of the existing constitution or be included in the new constitution, particularly as it was drawn up on the basis of the corresponding chapter of the draft new constitution.

On 5 January we sent the draft document on the delimitation of powers to the Russian president, and the very next day B.N. Yeltsin returned it to us with businesslike and interesting amendments. Ruslan Khasbulatov also approved the draft.

The history of Russia teaches us that our disunity, greed, and irrationality and the lack of firm rules give rise to the destruction of statehood—this once led to the rule of the wily Golden Horde, which made skillful use of the feuds among Russian appanage principalities, and later to the Time of Troubles, when rogues ruled the roost in Muscovy. At the same time our forefathers wisely found the way out of the Time of Troubles by convening the Assembly of the Land with representatives of all estates, by electing Czar Mikhail Romanov, and also by signing with him the terms of his reign, i.e. a prototype constitution. The constitutional path alone will save Russian statehood!

I will state frankly that, for myself, I see no more important task than that of recreating and strengthening Russia both from below—from a civil society, through the development of free labor, enterprise, and culture—and from above, through constitutional-political activity. A well-appointed state must have its own constitution because, without a totality of universally binding rules and customs, the overall order of management and communal living collapses and, even given outward inviolable tranquillity, the state loses its vitality and inevitably tends to decline.

Zorkin Hopes for Execution of Court Resolution

PM1701132992 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 17 Jan 92 p 2

[KRIM-PRESS report: "Right Up To Dismissal..."]

[Text] Moscow—What will the actions of the Russian Constitutional Court be if President Boris Yeltsin fails to execute that representative organ's resolution on recognizing the formation of the Ministry of Security and Internal Affairs as invalid?

Answering this question put by a KRIM-PRESS correspondent, Valeriy Zorkin, chairman of the Constitutional Court, expressed the hope that "reason will nonetheless triumph and the president of the Russian Federation will execute the resolution. In rule-of-law states," Zorkin noted, "such questions do not even arise because the law is binding for all. Otherwise there is a threat that the result will be either anarchy or the usurpation of power."

If this Constitutional Court resolution is not fulfilled, then according to the law sanctions will be applied to the culprits—from a fine of 500 rubles to dismissal from work...

Christian Democrats To Convene Congress 8 Feb

LD2101232592 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2135 GMT 21 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Lyudmila Aleksandrova]

[Text] Moscow, 21 Jan (TASS)—The Russian Christian Democratic Movement (RCDM) has decided to convene a congress of Russia's civic and political forces in Moscow on 8-9 February, at which there are plans to set up a new political organization—the Russian Popular Assembly [rossiyskoye narodnoye sobraniye].

As reported to a TASS correspondent by Viktor Aksyuchits, chairman of the council [duma] of that party, the Russian popular assembly is being conceived as an alternative to "Democratic Russia."

Taking part in the congress along with the RCDM will be the Russian Nationwide Union, recently created by Deputy Sergey Buburin; the Constitutional-Democratic Party; Cossack organizations; Orthodox fraternities; and center-right factions from the Russian parliament.

Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy has been invited to the congress. Organizers believe that his views on Russia's national and state system are "very close" to the positions of the RCDM.

Explaining the party's political platform on the eve of that forum, Viktor Aksyuchits first and foremost criticized the decision to create the CIS, calling it "fatal." He thinks that the replacement of the USSR with the Commonwealth may result in "catastrophic consequences."

The council chairman does not agree with the direction of economic reforms. "It will lead to Russia becoming a raw material appendage of the civilized Western market economy and, in the sociopolitical sense, naturally, to a social explosion," he said.

The RCDM stands in opposition to the present government but not to President Boris Yeltsin, explained the RCDM leader. "We will try to influence the president so that he changes the government's course. If he does not sharply change the position in the areas of the national and state system and economic reforms, then he will simply lose power because there will be a powerful social explosion," said the council chairman.

In the words of the RCDM leader, "the situation in the country is characterized by the fact that a second echelon of the CPSU has come into power, people brought up in the ideology of that regime. That liberal-communist tendency now determines the basis of policy in Russia." As a result, he thinks, and in response to radical left policies, society is falling even more under the influence of the ultra right-wingers.

It is for that reason that the congress of civic and political forces is being convened: to avert "the further radicalization of authority, and society moving farther to the right."

Russian People's Party Criticizes Leadership

LD2001120292 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network 2200 GMT 13 Jan 92

[V. Beletskiy report; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Criticism of the Russian leadership was voiced at today's session of the leadership of the Free Russia People's Party in Moscow. This party emerged in October last year from the Russian Communists' Democratic Party, headed by Russian Vice President Rutskoy.

[Beletskiy] Such actions could never attract attention from the press, but due to the character of this party of communist descent, it deserves to be treated with some attention. Its leadership has examined questions on the progress of implementation of the protocol on intentions between President Yeltsin and a number of political parties and movements. Many bitter words were said about the way this is being done. It was said that there were no clear consultations on government documents which are being prepared, nor on the appointments of personnel. Doubts were voiced as to the cabinet's goodwill toward cooperation. However, the leadership of Free Russia did not dare put forward their full opposition, like the Cadets Party did.

Although the leadership calls for creation of a government consisting of not only specialists, but also those reflecting the will of the party and the parliament, at the same time it dissociates itself from the latest demonstration in Manezh Square, having once again considered itself in the bloc of Yeltsin's supporters.

During the discussion of the two draft statements of the party leadership—on the Black Sea Fleet and Georgia—the inevitable dissonance of opinions was evident. However, the call for mutual understanding with the Ukraine was acceptable to all, as was the refusal to express satisfaction and joy about events in Georgia, where force was used against the legally elected president.

Summing up this meeting of the leadership of Free Russia, I would note that all the speakers stressed the need to adopt the main document—on the creation of the Commonwealth of Independent States—where the position on the aims of the Commonwealth will be determined: Whether to support the move toward the final desintegration or toward some sort of active unification.

Economic Analysis Commission Established

OW1501231492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2100 GMT 15 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A special commission set up by the RSFSR government on Monday [13 January] will conduct permanent studies of the economic situation in various parts of Russia and draft measures of social protection.

All local administrations are expected to regularly inform the commission of the economic situation in their areas. The commission will be specially equipped to maintain operative communication with the government.

The chairman's post was offered to Russia's First Deputy Economics and Finance Minister Andrey Nechayev.

List of Goods Banned for Export From Russia

PM1601152692 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 16 Jan 92 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report under the rubric "Official Section," incorporating "List of Scarce Consumer Goods Prohibited for Export by Citizens or Dispatch by Parcel Out of the Russian Federation From 10 January 1992," plus "Norms for the Export of Food Products Outside the Russian Federation by Citizens (Per Person)"]

[Text] At the request of our readers, we are carrying information issued concerning the government resolutions published in our issue for 10 January this year. The resolution "On Restricting the Export of Consumer Goods From the Russian Federation," No. 88, dated 29 December 1991; the resolution "On the Procedure for Deliveries of Particular Types of Output and Goods From the RSFSR to the Member States of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] in 1992," No. 92, dated 29 December 1991; and the government directive "On the One-Shot Compensation Payment In Addition to the Pension for December 1991," No. 2-r, 3 January 1992.

Today we publish an account of two appendices to Russian Federation Government Resolution No. 88 of 29 December 1991.

List of Scarce Consumer Goods Prohibited for Export by Citizens or Dispatch by Parcel Out of the Russian Federation From 10 January 1992

Food Products (Home-Produced and Imported)

Meat and meat products and canned goods; cheese; butter; edible fats; vegetable oil; fish and fish products; concentrated dehydrated foods; margarine; canned dairy products, baby food, and dried milk; tea and coffee; flour, groats, and pasta products; potatoes, vegetables, fruit, dried fruits, and citrus fruits; canned vegetables and fruit; yeast, starch, and vinegar essence; wine, champagne, brandy, liqueurs, and spirits; and tobacco products.

Industrial Products (Home-Produced and Imported)

Textiles; sewn and knitted goods; hosiery; articles made from real fur and sheepskin; leather, felt, and rubber footwear; down and feather products; electrical goods; domestic sewing machines; stainless steel and cupronickel tableware; all-metal vacuum bottles; non-electric samovars; pressure cookers; mechanical separators; folding beds; metal lids for home bottling; locks; household and garden tools; construction materials; sanitary engineering equipment; television sets; radio receivers; tape recorders; school exercise books and other notebooks; cotton underwear; household clocks; cameras; photographic paper; photographic and movie film; bicycles, including children's; motorcycles; motor scooters; boat motors; baby carriages; musical instruments; leather sports goods; typewriters; rubber boats; jewelry made from precious metals; antique objects of historical or artistic value; wool and woolen products; cotton textile products; carpets and carpet products; net curtains; corsetry; leather haberdashery goods; household and toilet soap; perfumery and cosmetics; detergents; umbrellas; blades for safety razors; spare parts for motor vehicles and bicycles; motor vehicle tires; motor vehicle batteries; toys; furniture.

Norms for the Export of Food Products Outside the Russian Federation by Citizens (Per Person)

Bread and bread products—1 kg
Sausage products—0.5 kg
Butter—0.5 kg
Margarine—1 pack
Eggs—10
Canned fish—2 cans
Candies and caramels—5 kg
Tea—1 pack
Alcoholic beverages—1 bottle
Tobacco products—4 packs

Sugar—0.5 kg
Coffee and coffee products—1 jar

Aid Theft Statistics 'Grossly Exaggerated'

PM1501090792 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 14 Jan 92 First Edition p 2

[Article by Olga Plakhotnikova: "Humanitarian Aid. Impossible To Bring A Case—It Is Not Clear Who Has Been Robbed"]

[Text] Not a day goes by without the country being rocked by scandals and shady stories about humanitarian aid. The "Vesti" program has reported that 50 percent of the aid sent to us by foreigners is not reaching its destination. What is going on? Why are the militia not catching the malefactors? I took these questions to the Russian Ministry of Security and Internal Affairs [MSIA] Operations Staff Working Group for Food.

The universal pessimism was not shared here.

"50 percent?! This figure is grossly exaggerated," group leader N. Petrov says. "We have 82 regions, and if one crime is committed in just one of these every day (and there are reports of this without fail) then, naturally, it begins to seem that all humanitarian aid is being looted. I think that there are no more and no less offenses in this sphere than in any other sphere of our life."

In N. Petrov's opinion, the crux of the matter is that universal attention is riveted to this problem today. Something like panic demand has developed for information of this kind. About a year ago, when aid had only just begun to arrive, people were writing and talking about this practically every day, just like now. Then a period of total silence ensued, although humanitarian parcels and their theft took their course.

The final statistics for last year—how many loads were delivered, how many motor transport convoys the militia managed to take under its control, and the number of criminal cases which resulted—will be compiled shortly, and we will without fail acquaint our readers with them. However, it is not just statistics that are of major interest today. Criminal cases involving incidents of theft of humanitarian aid are often closed because it is impossible to determine... who has suffered the material loss. What charge can be brought against people who have pilfered goods which, in effect, belong to no one? The operations staff working group was confident that thieves would cease to feel so free-and-easy when a normative act appears defining any humanitarian shipment as state property.

It is no coincidence that they were unable to cite for me any examples where parcels destined for the destitute and poverty-stricken have been rifled and the culprits have got off scot-free. Though there are more than enough examples of this kind. But the criminal cases are closed, and just try calling a man a criminal if, while brazenly stealing food from the poor, according to the letter of the law he is as innocent as a newborn babe.

It is naive to demand of the MSIA that it quickly catch all the criminals when the chaos reigning in the delivery and distribution of aid is the same as everywhere else. You cannot attach a militiaman to every parcel. I recently heard in one of the commissions that are mushrooming these days for sharing out import goods: "They say that four railcars with food are on their way to us." The route and origin of the shipment are a secret shrouded in darkness. In such a situation it is possible not even to notice the theft of four carloads of food. Unless the senders themselves realize and kick up a fuss.

The badly organized delivery and slovenly storage of foreign shipments is becoming a breeding ground for crime. However, according to N. Petrov, the MSIA has not received the extra forces necessary to stop the activity of the fishers after import happiness.

Although the issue here, I think, is not just one of numbers of officers. The impression arises that, despite the colossal wave of intrigue surrounding humanitarian aid, they are purely and simply hunting for some thieving Uncle Vasya who has made off with a couple of jars of stew. What about the spurious philanthropic societies, so profitable to set up, for the duty-free "transportation" of import goods? And the shady transactions whose roots go back to very territories from where the loads are sent? Any commission dealing with foreign deliveries will tell you how this is done.

However, N. Petrov referred increasingly to the entrepreneurial gumption of Moscow schoolchildren, whom it was recently decided to "fatten up." Surely it was not they who managed to flood all the commercial stalls in Moscow with foreign produce?

I spent a long time trying to find out what proportion of humanitarian shipments is being looted in our country. Alas, I did not manage to get even an approximate answer. And I fear that the statistics of criminal cases which are soon to appear will be of precious little help here. Deficiencies in the legislation, paradoxical though it may seem, turn out to be profitable not just for the swindlers, but also for the law-enforcement organs: You can get nothing out of them either.

SS-19s Used in Carrier Rocket Launch Tests

LD2101223192 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2006 GMT 21 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 21 Jan (TASS)—A TASS correspondent was told at the Defense Ministry space units press service that since November 1990, there have been experimental launches of carrier rockets whose main element consists of combat missiles, including SS-19's, which are being removed from military service.

The last launch, on 20 December 1991 and which evoked a great reaction from the press, was not as menacing as observers maintain. This is the planned start of a converted intercontinental ballistic missile, which it is proposed to use for conversion purposes to place useful cargoes into space orbit in the interests of science and for the benefit of the economy of the Commonwealth of Independent States.

The purpose of such launches, which is in accord with the START treaty, is to test the correctness of technical and design decisions by utilizing missiles that are being removed from combat duty. Until recently, these missiles were being destroyed by being blown up.

Director of Space Institute Interviewed

PM1601105192 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jan 92 p 3

[S. Ivanov report incorporating interview in Moscow with A.S. Koroteyev, director of the Thermal Processes Institute, under the rubric "Un-Top Secret"; date of interview not given: "There Are Still Places Where You Can Get $3 Per Ruble"]

[Text] "...A group of U.S. researchers headed by the deputy director of the 'Star Wars' program Innovative Science and Technology Department recently visited the Thermal Processes Institute in Moscow. The delegation took part in tests of a very small modern space power plant. This compact power plant could have many applications in the U.S. space program in satellites already placed in orbit. The Russians are offering this device for $500,000-1 million..."—THE NEW YORK TIMES.

Only a very sharp eye would spot this entrance on the outskirts of Moscow. The reference point was supposed to be a nameplate saying "All-Union Institute of Agricultural Machinery."

"I have lived here a long time, but I have never heard anything about agricultural machinery," a passerby shrugged.

"What about the Thermal Processes Institute?" I cautiously asked.

"That is in the other direction, there is no nameplate there."

The territory of an institute with a complex of buildings lacking in architectural adornments which was for many years one of the most secret facilities in the capital admitted a journalist for the first time...

In 1933 the uncoordinated efforts of enthusiastic engineers and Moscow scientists from the jet propulsion study group and the Leningrad gas dynamics laboratory were amalgamated to form the Jet Propulsion Research Institute by decree of M.N. Tukhachevskiy, deputy chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council. Two months later the first Soviet rocket, playfully called "GIRD-Kh," was successfully launched.

The Leningrader I.T. Kleymenov became head of the institute, and Sergey Pavlovich Korolev was appointed his deputy. It was not long before the Muscovite and the Leningrader were at loggerheads, mostly because of the complex character of the representative of the Moscow school. The latter was demoted to department chief. In 1937 this saved his life. As is well known, at that time sentences were handed out not because they were merited, but according to the table of organization. I.T. Kleymenov and his deputies were shot. The major topic of research in the institute was cut back. However, by the beginning of the war the topic of "katyusha" multiple-launch powder-propelled projectiles was becoming a priority area. The first experimental prototypes of the RS-182 "katyusha" projectiles were created in early 1941 in a two-story brick building on the institute's territory.

The laboratories of the top-secret "facility" developed systems and the country learned of their realization from laconic TASS reports. The institute took part in placing the first satellite in orbit, in Gagarin's flight (it was responsible for the spacecraft guidance system), and in creating "Vostok," "Voskhod," "Soyuz," "Venera," "Luna," the "Lunokhod," the "Salyut" and "Mir" orbital stations, and the "Energiya-Buran" rocket and space system.

...In the office of Institute Director A.S. Koroteyev, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, it would be nice to shoot an episode of a movie about the meeting of the state commission on the eve of the launch of the first Earth satellite.

[Ivanov] Anatoliy Sazanovich, it is probably easier for a journalist to get to see you than for him to get into a meat-packing combine. When did this become possible, and why?

[Koroteyev] We received the right to publicly proclaim our existence in late 1989, and we began to rack our brains about what we should say. You know, there is no sense in making a secret of everything. First, the lack of scientific exchanges with foreign colleagues affects the level of your own scientific developments. Second, we were perfectly well aware that, objectively speaking, a number of Soviet researches at this time were superior to their foreign counterparts and at the same time had ceased to play any crucial defense role. It would be crazy not to profit from them. It takes around five to seven years to create rocket power plants, so if you have embarked on a new development, you need not worry about trading partners catching up with you overnight.

[Ivanov] Is it true that a space power plant that fits on the palm of your hand and, according to the American press, has remained on paper for 30 years and has never gone into space is being used by us in Soviet satellites and has been displayed for sale?

[Koroteyev] Electric power plants are indeed used in Soviet communications satellites, television satellites, and other orbital satellites. They were developed 12-15 years ago. I do not know whether you would be able to hold them in the palm of your hand—they weigh 25-30 kg after all. Why, with their technology, can the Americans not create a similar power plant? The point is that they pinned their hopes on a different type of power plant and developed so-called ion power plants. They are fine in laboratory conditions, but very capricious in actual operation.

This situation is no exception in our competition with the Americans. A number of American developments contain a conceptual miscalculation. This is a miscalculation not by engineers or technicians, but by science.

But we are now introducing the developments of the next century.

[Ivanov] As one of the creators of the power plant, don't you feel annoyed that the Americans are naming such a miserly price for the invention?

[Koroteyev] Quite obviously, there is no question of selling at dumping prices. So far as we are concerned, this absurd exchange rate of 100 or more rubles to the dollar is totally unacceptable. In rocket technology the ruble is worth approximately $2.7. How is this exchange rate computed—and, incidentally, it is accepted by specialists in this field throughout the world? The scheme is simple. You take a particular development. You realize it in America, I do so in the USSR, and we record how many dollars you spend and how many rubles I spend. Almost like prime cost. We set this condition quite rigidly for the Americans, and they agreed to this. In addition, we are holding talks with the French and the Chinese.

[Ivanov] I am afraid there is no getting away from the main question to any director today. What is your institute's future?

[Koroteyev] The attitude toward defense and space questions today is totally different. But if you look to the future, there is certainly a need for the institute. Throughout the world, wherever the space industry is well developed, it brings in revenue. I like the pragmatic approach of the Chinese on questions of commercial space and of defense. I think that Russia should not abandon what it now has and what is still working efficiently.

Whether there is a need for the institute in the form in which it existed until recently is another matter. I think that operations that have lost their urgency but could be used in the national economy should be separated as independent enterprises and not maintained from the state budget.

Small enterprises were set up under the institute back in late 1990, and over the course of the year they have learned to survive. This enables us to cut the institute's staff without throwing people out into the street. But there are limits. Another problem is that high-class specialists will be making 1,500 [rubles per month] from the new year. We cannot rival our cooperatives in this respect.

[Ivanov] The West is already sounding the alarm about a "brain drain" from the country involving specialists in rocket production. Aren't you afraid that in a couple of years you will encounter a pupil of yours at a scientific conference somewhere in America or the Near Eastern countries?

[Koroteyev] Our research institute is the parent organization for the Moscow Physical Technical Institute, where I lecture. And you know, I have noticed that recently the students have begun to work better and have become more meticulous, if you like. I was glad about this. Then I realized they are engaged in active correspondence. Our specialists are very highly valued abroad. Those who are already settled across the ocean are offering practical advice. Some people are already preparing their scientific baggage for the journey. [Koroteyev ends]

...When the director suggested I take a look around the institute, I could be boldly allowed into any laboratory, even the most secret. A mere mortal could not repeat, let alone understand, the terms bandied about by the staffers as they attempted to explain the purpose of specific devices to me. So in describing what are perhaps the last little islands of Soviet scientific technical superiority over everybody else I am again going to quote THE NEW YORK TIMES.

At the beginning of 1991 the Pentagon announced that it was going to spend 15 million [currency not specified] on purchasing a modern Soviet nuclear reactor for generating energy in space similar to those that serve as the energy source for Soviet reconnaissance satellites. The aim is to study the technology, since the United States has long been trying to develop a similar type of modern reactor, but has never managed to build one... Soviet scientists have organized the production of high-strength heat-resistant alloys that are practically unknown in the West. These materials could be important for creating modern rocket motors and nuclear reactors... The U.S. Air Force repeatedly covertly studied the possibility of acquiring the modern Soviet rocket motor known as the RD-170 ("Energiya" class), which is believed to be the world's most powerful liquid-fueled motor... It is nice to hear that, against the backdrop of the general disintegration, we are ahead of the West in some spheres.

However, by the start of the year the institute's budget has still not been drawn up. Can it count on injections of state money, and how much? The director could not answer this question. "You cannot keep people in suspense," the bearded engineers and technicians tried to convince your correspondent. "While we used to work for the space program and defense, are we now apparently no longer needed?"

In two or three months' time the institute specialists, of whom there were just a handful throughout the former

Soviet Union, will be making buttons and machining handles for pressure cookers.

It is easy as anything to lose the few things we can still be proud of. It is far more difficult to adopt a political decision to wheel out the monument to the "katyusha" from deep inside the once-secret territory and install it by the entrance gates. To put up at long last a nameplate with combat orders and all the regalia of a civilian institute. And to give people the opportunity to work.

Servicemen Swear Oath of Allegiance 11 Jan

LD1601001292 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1200 GMT 11 Jan 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Despite yesterday's reports in the press saying that it has been planned to discuss the text of a new Russian oath of allegiance and the order of swearing the oath at the All-Army conference of the representatives of officers assemblies only on 17 January, young servicemen of some formations of the former Soviet Army stationed on Russia's territory are, nevertheless, taking the oath today, including some at the Armed Forces Museum in Moscow. However, the ritual itself has remained a military secret for us because the commercialization process has also affected the Armed Forces. We had to pay to shoot in the museum but, alas, because the cameraman and I did not have the considerable sum required, we will not, unfortunately, be able to show you this—if you like—historic event.

Military-Industrial Complex Demands More Funds

OW1501231392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2100 GMT 15 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The heads of defense-sector enterprises throughout Russia are demanding more funding from the state budget.

One government expert, who asked not to be identified, told IF [INTERFAX] that last month alone munitions plant directors had requested the allocation of 600 bln [billion] rbl [rubles]—obviously, for the production of armaments.

The government argues that giving the military-industrial complex extra funds will necessarily lead to further cutbacks on health care, education and social assistance programs.

Some members of parliament, believed to be well informed of the situation in the defense sector, have told IF that the military-industrial complex, unless its demands are met, may be expected to try to pressure parliament into rejecting the budget and disrupting action on the finance-stabilizing program. They predict that confrontation may complicate parliamentary debates on the draft budget for the first quarter of 1992.

Supreme Soviet

Presidium Discusses 20 Jan Agenda, Draft Bills

LD2001235092 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 20 Jan 92

[Report by correspondent V. Stapnyuk; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] A session of the Presidium of the Russian Supreme Soviet, at which the agenda of the parliamentary week just beginning was worked out, took place in the White House today.

[Stepanyuk] Opening the Presidium session, Ruslan Khasbulatov summed up the results of his visit to Udmurtiya, and once again returned to the same critical remarks which he made against the government last week. He stressed that there were sufficient grounds for the head of parliament to make certain judgments about economic reform. And it was probably high time all of us got used to the idea that such critical remarks can be a frequent occurrence in our political and public life. Society should realize that, with all our joint workings and cooperation together, there are bound to be differences between government and parliament as a legislative body. Parliament will support all the progressive undertakings of our government, but it will also dissociate itself just as rigidly in those instances when it can see that the government's actions are of a negative nature. And let us be quite clear about this, the chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet stressed.

Before sending the new documents to the commissions and committees, the Presidium discussed in brief draft acts of legislation—on the budget rights of representative bodies and bodies of management; the procedure for defining the structures of the Russian Government; and the appointment and release of ministers. It is being contemplated, among other things, that members of parliament should be appointed to managerial posts within the system of legislative power only with the consent of the Supreme Soviet. A decision of the Presidium on the All-Russian Television and Radio Company was adopted, which provides for supplying it with up-to-date equipment, the reconstruction of the Shabolovka tele-complex and the redeployment of the network of correspondents of the former union Gosteleradio.

The Presidium also adopted a decision on the state regulation of the work of monopoly enterprises. Clearly, the most difficult matter for parliament this week, it was noted at the Presidium, will be the debate on Russia's budget for the first three months of this year. It is also expected that laws on the responsibility of officials for the non-fulfillment of Russian legislation, on protection of consumers' rights, and others will be adopted at the plenary sessions.

Khasbulatov Addresses Presidium's Session

LD2001174992 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1415 GMT 20 Jan 92

[Excerpt of address by Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Speaker Ruslan Imranovich Khasbulatov to opening session of Presidium of the Supreme Soviet in Moscow, with opening and closing report on address by correspondent Olga Vasilenko—recorded]

[Text] [Vasilenko] A session of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation is going on at this very moment. Ruslan Imranovich Khasbulatov began the session by stating that he has had many reasons for making certain judgments on economic reform issues, which we heard about earlier, and that society should be aware that there is a difference between the government and parliament. All in all, much was said, but let us listen instead to Ruslan Imranovich Khasbulatov himself.

[Khasbulatov] Yes, we are going to support—at least for our part, we are definite about this—all the progressive undertakings of our government. But we will firmly dissociate ourselves in those cases where we see that these actions have a reactionary core.

There is no doubt about that. And in any case, as a professional economist, I have seen potential for reaction in several factors, at any rate. First of all, in the isolation of pricing policy from first of all, an overall privatization policy, second from the liberalization of foreign trade, and third from the factor of depriving regions and enterprises of economic independence.

Unless we bring together all these areas into a single transformation process, it will be difficult to talk about economic reform at all. We can engage in whatever kind of improvization or experimentation we like, but this is not economic reform.

So, while I undoubtedly support the president and, strictly speaking, our own policy, which we began from the first congress, and the policy which we have been carrying out for the last one and a half years, we do need, all the same, to speak about the following.

Let us take foreign economic ties. From the point of view of normative provisions, do our provisions, our legislative provisions correspond to a market economy? Do you not see in this absolute protectionism and centralization that is unacceptable for any mixed economy, for a market economy? You will recall that in order not to exacerbate relations when ideological attacks against us by the media were growing, we with great difficulty paid little note, all in all, to the presidential decree on foreign economic ties. But it contains an exceptionally reactionary essence. Yes, that decree does not envisage any liberalization of foreign economic ties whatsoever.

You will recall that, in this respect, Deputy Isakov was correct, but somehow, at the time we moved away from such things, and so there is no point appealing to the government for any explanations or addenda to this decree. That is why I asked our committees and commissions to prepare an appropriate law—no, not a law, rather a decision—on the liberalization of foreign economic ties.

This liberalization must, without fail, envisage the buying and selling of land plots for production purposes, both by national entrepreneurs and by foreign entrepreneurs. Until we carry this out, there can be no question of any investment of foreign capital in the Russian economy. I am sorry that the government does not understand this, but when it does not understand something, it fails to understand it fundamentally.

So, the second circumstance which we must certainly take into consideration is that what has been said during the week looks as if it is already beginning to be generally understood by people.

First, I would ask you to prepare a decision on abolishing a value-added tax on the production of foodstuffs. There cannot even be any question of talks on this matter.

Please see that a draft decision by the Supreme Soviet on this is ready in a week, whether with or without the agreement of the government, if we do not want to ruin our food market completely. May God help us still to preserve steadiness and stability for another week until we arrive at the relevant normative act.

[Vasilenko] Ruslan Imranovich Khasbulatov went on to criticize the draft budget prepared by the government. He even expressed the opinion that the people who prepared it were far from professional. But nevertheless, if further work is done on the budget in committees and commissions, the budget must be supported, said Khasbulatov.

And it is our aim, he continued, that the government should cease to engage in ideology or propaganda. But for the time being, there are no obvious conclusions to be drawn from the criticism and so we must proceed according to legislation.

Ruslan Imranovich went on to talk about his trip to Udmurtiya and expressed pleasure that the republic's supplies of meat, milk, and oil are not bad. And if Udmurtiya had extra fodder, he said, it could even send its products to certain other parts of Russia.

And you know, he had some very heated words to say about the attitude of the press toward his parliament, claiming that no parliament anywhere in any country is subjected to such spiteful attacks from the press as is the case in our country, and he complained a great deal about this in general. And the reason for his criticism of the press was that it was reported on television's first channel that there is a government crisis in Udmurtiya.

Ruslan Imranovich said that, to put it mildly, this report had bewildered people in the republic. He called on journalists to be objective, thorough, and professional. Who needs the press if its work is not professional?

That then, in general, was the rather sharp tone in which this session of the Presidium began, but afterwards everything was calmer and there was discussion of several acts of legislation. The session of the Presidium is now continuing.

Critical of Privatization Strategy

OW2001183192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1615 GMT 20 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Chairman of the Russian Supreme Council Ruslan Khasbulatov has criticized the government for "alienation of price formation from general privatization" and his orientation toward depriving regions of economic independence. Speaking at a meeting of the Supreme Council's Presidium Monday [20 January] he pointed out that while supporting progressive part of the government's policy, he intends to "firmly break away from the reactionary charge it carries."

Khasbulatov urged the Supreme Council to resolutely influence the government in a legal framework.

Khasbulatov stressed that his last week's sharp criticism of the government had been timely and as designed to "make the society realize the difference between the government and the Supreme Council." Then Khasbulatov suggested that the government should resign.

Criticizes Media's Coverage

LD2001222792 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 2100 GMT 20 Jan 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Ruslan Khasbulatov spoke today at the Russian Supreme Soviet Presidium. He criticized journalists for incorrectly covering the parliament's work. He cited as an example our western colleagues and invited deputies to think about the way the media should be financed in 1992 and about how much journalists on state service should be paid.

It seems that such a reaction from the chairman of the parliament was provoked by the way journalists interpreted the recent conflict between the parliament and the Russian Government.

Further on Khasbulatov Criticism

LD2001222192 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1900 GMT 20 Jan 92

[Text] A session of the Russian Supreme Soviet was held on 20 January. Our parliamentary correspondent Yevgeniy Zherebenkov reports.

[Zherebenkov] It is evidently becoming a kind of tradition for Ruslan Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet, to direct harsh criticism at the government's actions when opening Supreme Soviet Presidium sessions. This is the clear conclusion to be drawn from Ruslan Khasbulatov's address today, when he tried to explain to the Presidium members the motives behind the tough evaluation he made a week ago—a surprise to many people—of the methods the government has chosen to implement economic reform. Ruslan Khasbulatov said the following, in part:

[Begin Khasbulatov recording] I would like to remind you that there was, of course, a great deal of justification for the Supreme Soviet chairman to pronounce certain judgements on the issues of economic reform. And if the Supreme Soviet chairman had not delivered these judgements, I do not think it would be to his own credit or to that of the Supreme Soviet. And I would like everyone to get used to such pronouncements becoming frequent in our political, state, and social life; at least for as long as I enjoy your trust. So, this is unequivocal. And nobody should expect any other behavioral motives from the Supreme Soviet chairman. I also think that this was done at the right time from the point of view of society realizing at last that with all our interaction and cooperation there is a difference between the government and the parliament—the legislative organ. Yes, we will definitely support—at least from our side—all the progressive undertakings of our government. But we will resolutely dissociate ourselves in cases where we see these actions containing some reactionary charge in them. This is unequivocal. [end recording]

Presidium To Study Bills on Executive Power

OW2001164492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1245 GMT 20 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At its Monday's [20 January] session the presidium of Russia's parliament will consider draft bills on the structure of executive power and appointments to the key posts in it. The documents were drafted by the parliamentary committee on legislation in view of the fact that Russia's Constitutional Court had qualified as unconstitutional the President's decree on merging the security agency with the interior ministry, IF's [INTERFAX] correspondent was told by Mikhail Mityukov, chairman of the parliamentary committee on legislation.

According to the drafts, he said, the structure of the Russian Federation's government will conform to the list of ministries, state committees and departments endorsed by the parliament. The President will appoint or dismiss deputy prime ministers and other government members with the parliament's consent. Proceeding from the principle of dividing pover, government members cannot serve as people's deputies regardless of the order of their appointment, and their mandates will be cancelled as soon as the parliament adopts these documents. If the presidium approves the drafts, they'll be submitted to the legislature this week.

Sale of Weapons Abroad To Be Considered

LD2001174592 Moscow TASS in English 1528 GMT 20 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow January 20 TASS—The question of the sale of weapons abroad has been accepted for consideration by the Russian parliament, Vladimir Shorin, chairman of a parliamentary committee, told a news conference in the "White House" today.

He recently visited defence-sector enterprises in the Udmurt Republic among a parliamentary delegation led by parliament chief Ruslan Khasbulatov.

When studying as a delegation member the state of affairs at Izhevsk-based defence plants, Shorin saw for himself that their personnel have got interesting ideas about the implementation of conversion. But everything depends on the availability of foreign currency which the plants are lacking.

Foreign currency can be obtained quickly as a result of the sale of weapons, particularly Kalashnikov submarine-guns which are rated highly on the international market.

The arms sale issue will be studied by the parliament with the participation of the government. Only after that the parliament will make a final decision, Shorin emphasised.

Chief Arbiter's Resignation To Be Considered

OW2001181692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1615 GMT 20 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] IF [INTERFAX] learned that on Monday [20 January] the Presidium of the Russian Supreme Council plans to consider the resignation of Valeriy Grebennikov as Chief State Arbiter of the republic at his request.

In his request for resignation January 9 Grebennikov indicated that he "had not committed any violations of law, however, "rumors about my "illegal actions" are being actively spread among the population and the deputies." [quotation marks as received]

On January 8 the State Arbitration Collegium sent a letter to the Supreme Council claiming that Grebennikov has violated the legislation while resolving disputes in the interests of commercial structures. The Collegium also criticized his personnel policy.

Presidium on Future of Russian TV, Radio

LD2001193792 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 20 Jan 92

[From the "Vesti" Newscast]

[Text] The draft laws examined by the parliament's presidium included one on the future of the Russian State Television and Radio Company. The matter was submitted, according to its chairman, Oleg Poptsov, because disputes and even conflicts have arisen on a whole range of points since Yeltsin's decree on the setting up of the Ostankino Television Company. We do not have a single foreign correspondent's bureau, Poptsov noted. We are still unable to broadcast abroad on behalf of Russia. And finally, before 21 January's discussion of the 1992 budget, it should be remembered that between 8 and 10 times less than demanded is being allocated to Russian television, including local television and radio committees.

Khasbulatov supported the television chief by reiterating that the very emergence of Russian independence and parliamentarism are linked with Russia's television and radio, and this was especially so during the dramatic August days of truth or silence. It has been decided to work on the draft decision for a week and, in particular, it has been proposed that Deputy Prime Minister Gaydar help secure the implementation of currency contracts that have already been concluded for the reconstruction of the premises of the All-Russian Television and Radio Company. As for St. Petersburg television, a separate parliamentary decision is to be adopted.

Adopts Broadcasting Resolution

LD2201065492 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 2143 GMT 20 Jan 92

[Text] The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation on January 20 adopted a resolution instructing the Government of the Russian Federation to provide foreign currency funds to cover contracts with Western firms on purchase of equipment for the All-Russian TV and Radio Broadcasting Company, procure necessary funds for the termination of construction and reconstruction of the Shabolovka TV complex. To form a foreign bureau network, it was proposed that the administration of the All- Russian TV and Radio Broadcasting Company and the Ostankino Russian TV and Radio Broadcasting Company should re-allocate the correspondent network of the State TV and Radio Broadcasting Committee of the Former USSR.

In connection with the establishment of a Voice of Russia radio station, the All-Russian TV and Radio Broadcasting Company will receive under its control the production facilities and technical structures formerly utilized by the world Russian Service of the State TV and Radio Broadcasting Committee of the former USSR.

New Constitution To Be Reviewed Mar, Apr

LD2001171792 Moscow TASS in English 1651 GMT 20 Jan 92

[Text] Moscow January 20 TASS—The new draft constitution of Russian Federation will be considered by the Congress of People's Deputies in late March—early April, according to a communique, issued by the Constitution Commission on Monday [20 January].

The draft constitution will first be studied by experts in parliamentary committees, then it will be published for nation-wide discussion, after which the session of parliament will approve the document and submit it to the congress.

Gaydar Says Deficit-Free Budget 'Impossible'

LD2101135792 Moscow TASS in English 1330 GMT 21 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow January 21 TASS—Yegor Gaydar, deputy prime minister of the Russian Federation, believes it will be impossible to draw up a deficit-free budget of the Russian Federation in the first quarter of the current year. Speaking on Tuesday [21 January] at the parliamentary hearings that began in committees and commissions on the budgetary policy of the government, he said that the deficit will make up at least one per cent of Gross National Product, or 11.5 billion roubles. The government asks parliamentary support for its conclusions about the need to spend 409.2 billion roubles in the first three months of 1992. The government expects revenues of 397.7 billion roubles.

Stabilising the rouble is the most important task for the Russian Government, said Gaydar explaining the principles of drawing up the Russian budget during the transition to the market and the freeing of prices. "Reforms will collapse if we fail to stabilise the rouble", he said. Gaydar expressed the hope it will be possible to avoid hyperinflation and that situation in the economy will gradually begin to improve.

Further on Deficit

OW2101182792 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1607 GMT 21 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russia's Vice-Premier Yegor Gaydar has admitted that the republic's 1992 budget cannot be made deficit-free. He told parliament on Tuesday [21 January] that the government saw it as its current task to reduce the annual budget deficit to 1% of the GNP (i.e., to 10-11 bln rbl [billion rubles]). Last year's budget deficit amounted to 17% of the GNP.

According to Mr. Gaydar, the national economy can be retained under control and hyperinflation can be warded off only if the budget deficit is slashed soon.

He said one half of the budgetary incomes was made up of proceeds from the mandatory sale by raw materials-exporting enterprises of part of their hard-currency revenues to the state at 55 rbl for the dollar, and of export taxes collected from these enterprises. Another 140 bln rbl was added to the budget through VAT [value-added tax], and 67 bln through profit tax payments. At best, budgetary incomes could increase by up to 2% of the GNP, Gaydar said.

According to him, budgetary spending could be scaled down through major cuts in allocations for the purchase of weapons, as well as through reducing government subsidies from 8% of the GNP in 1991 to 2.7% in 1992, reviewing the system of foreign countries' crediting, and cutting down investment in industrial construction from 9% of the GNP in 1991 to 3.3% this year.

People's Deputy Cited

LD2101093992

[Editorial Report] Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian at 0800 GMT on 21 January carries a report by correspondent Olga Vasilenko from the Russian Supreme Soviet session in Moscow, where Russian Vice Premier Yegor Gaydar is addressing a parliamentary hearing in committees and commissions on Russia's draft budget. She interviews People's Deputy Aleksandr Veshnyakov on the progress of the hearing. Asked whether a deficit-free budget is being presented, as was previously proposed, he says:

"A deficit is envisaged, of about 11 billion rubles. Clearly it could not in any case be reduced to a deficit-free budget, and probably this should not even be done. But the point is clearly that the sort of budget has to be adopted—and moreover, we are talking about a budget only for the first quarter of 1992—that does not whip up hyperinflation. And for this, what is clearly needed is cuts in various expenses. Primarily, it is the government's position that expenditure on defense should be substantially reduced; the government intends that it should come to approximately 4.5-5 percent of our gross national income. The position here is that we now have sufficient weapons, and to cut weapons purchases approximately eightfold. We need an immediate development in conversion policy, certain measures are being proposed here. We just heard them in his address."

Gaydar Cited on Shortages, Tax, Foreign Debt

OW2101192492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1819 GMT 21 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russia's Vice-Premier Yegor Gaydar has described bread shortages as the republic's "number one problem" now. Meeting with parliamentarians in Moscow's House of Soviets on Tuesday [21 January], he said that with its own grain harvest amounting to 93 million tons and foreign purchases to only 23 million tons in 1991, Russia's grain reserves in January totaled almost nothing.

According to Mr. Gaydar, all hard-currency savings, as well as part of oil export revenues had been re-channeled into the purchase of grain and payments for its transportation to Russia. At present, an estimated 120,000 tons of grain arrived in the republic daily. "If grain imports stabilize at the level of 4 million tons a month, no catastrophe should be expected," Gaydar said, but added that January and February might be the most difficult months in terms of bread supplies.

In reply to questions from the audience, Mr. Gaydar resolutely rejected Ruslan Khasbulatov's suggestion that the VAT [value-added tax] rate be reduced. He warned that this might be "one of the most dangerous parliamentary decisions" today. At the same time, he did not rule out that other taxes might be reviewed.

The vice-premier said the issue of deferring payments on Russia's external debt would be discussed if a commission of IMF experts confirmed in March that the Russian economic reforms were efficient and irreversible.

Gaydar Interviewed on Ruble Stabilization

LD2101151592 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1130 GMT 21 Jan 92

[Report from Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation by Olga Vasilenko, parliamentary correspondent]

[Text] A meeting between deputies—members of the committees and commissions of the Russian parliament—with Yegor Gaydar, the deputy prime minister of the Russian Government, has just finished. The draft budget prepared by the government for the first quarter of 1992 was presented. It should be said that during this meeting the situation was not at all simple. For this reason I decided to start my own conversation with Yegor Timorovich [Gaydar] after the sitting with the question of whether he nonetheless felt there was any mutual understanding between the government and parliament in the main areas. This was the answer.

[Begin recording] [Gaydar] I would put it like this: There was a reasonable level of mutual understanding. One cannot expect miracles, one cannot expect that... [changes thought] the limits are harsh. The reductions in budgetary expenditure, which actually do affect real social interests, might be interpreted by parliament as nonsense. Such a parliament would be [word indistinct] in a democratic country. Well, naturally there were demands to increase spending in virtually all areas, starting with defense.

[Vasilenko] We are used to this—constant demands.

[Gaydar] For defense investment, social investment, and so on, for taxes to be reduced. In general, for the policies which have brought us to economic ruin today to be continued. However, on the whole it seems to me nevertheless that this did not set the general tone. The general tone was a growing understanding by the legislative authorities of their responsility for everything which occurs—their responsibility is not to permit the economy to disintegrate—a growing understanding of the general economic realities which our country must live with and which everyone must take into account, and an understanding that it would be destructive to continue with the same policies, unrestrainedly. It seems to me that the basis for mutual understanding and cooperation is present here.

[Vasilenko] Deputies raised the matter of the government being occupied more with the issue of finance and seeming to leave aside production. I do think that economists of the level which the government has assembled would be unable to understand this. Why is this question arising?

[Gaydar] Well, the point is simply that according to the traditions of the Soviet socialist economic thinking it is supposed that thinking about production is thinking in terms of numbers. Thinking about production is, in the first instance, thinking dependent on macro-economics, and there are macro-economic prerequisites for industrial growth. If I could now permit myself to expound in more detail than I could at the parliamentary hearing the main problems standing in the way of implementing the structural perestroyka of our economy and of implementing industrial policies, then throwing out the interim view we come quite quickly to the conclusion that financial stabilization is the necessary basis today for industrial construction and industrial growth. A number of logical links simply need to be added to the chain for a conclusion to be immediately reached.

[Vasilenko] Deputies, in general, are concerned about the stabilization of the ruble. What do you think about this process? Has it started yet, or is the opposite still the case, that the ruble is falling?

[Gaydar] At the moment there are reassuring signs. There have been the general tendencies over the last few days of the high prices of the beginning of January falling to an optimal level. Gradually, slowly as I expected, but nevertheless every day the Soviet market fills up a little, gains more of those categories of goods which for a very long time, in general, were very slow, difficult.

[Vasilenko] This has not yet been noticed in Udmurtiya, excuse me...

[Gaydar, interrupting] Well, just look. It is very difficult for people to recognize this because prices are very high. At such prices one could [words indistinct]. But nevertheless, if you look at the statistics, prices are gradually falling. [word indistinct] of the categories of goods available on the market is increasing gradually. The dollar-ruble exchange rate has stabilized, and the first signs of it falling have appeared. All of the signs of an improvement and stabilization of the situation with the ruble are very unreliable and I would not like to exaggerate or give too high a value to them or to inspire deputies or anyone with inappropriate optimism. However, the point that there are such signs is also a very important fact and it should not be undervalued. It would be very easy to take one incorrect step in the financial sphere, simply by taking easy decisions on reducing taxes, additional tax privileges, increasing expenditure, and these would quickly cancel everything out and would immediately lead to a complete collapse of monetary stability. At the same time signs of a stabilization are nonetheless manifest. [end recording]

Deputies Condemn Khasbulatov's 'Rudeness'

LD2201072192 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1903 GMT 21 Jan 92

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] A statement endorsed on January 21 during a session of Radical Democrats' parliamentary faction has it, inter alia, that most of the faction's members believe that the Supreme Soviet chairman's rudeness towards deputies, constant negligence of the rules of conduct, as fixed by the agenda, could lead, in the final analysis, to changes in the strategic course of reforms too.

Members of the faction maintain that his present state of being at a loss is accounted for not so much by the insolent behaviour of General Dudayev as by his own character features and by his tiredness. The faction demanded that Khasbulatov should make a public apology to RF [Russian Federation] people's deputies Petr Filippov and Mikhail Kiselev for his unethical attitude to them in the course of a session of the Supreme Soviet Presidium held on 20 January 1992. In case Khasbulatov went on treating his colleagues in the same manner, the faction would be forced to raise the issue of his re-election at a regular congress, the statement has it.

Supreme Soviet Discusses Division of Powers

LD2101202992

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 1700 GMT on 21 January, in its "Vesti" newscast, broadcasts a 2.5-minute report by correspondent Ye. Revelskaya from the Russian Supreme Soviet on its discussion of the delimitation of powers between federal bodies of the Russian Federation and the autonomous regions

The report begins with the announcer noting that at the Russian White House today representatives of the autonomous regions discussed the delimitation of powers between the federal bodies and the autonomous regions.

Revelskaya then notes that at the Supreme Soviet the Commission for National-State Organization is worried that national movements in the autonomous regions will take over the organs of state power. He then interviews N. Medvedev, chairman of the Commission for National-State Organization, who says that many want to violate the Constitution rules stipulating that citizens must be allowed to take part in government regardless of race, nationality, or politics.

Revelskaya says this was why the commission drafted an agreement on delimitation of powers with autonomous regions and invited their representatives to take part.

Revelskaya then interviews V. Vlasov, deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Yakut-Sakha Republic, who says that the authors of the document in question are trying impose their will from above.

Revelskaya concludes the report by saying that the question of division of property remains open. There are expected to be tough debates on today's agreement in the Supreme Soviets of the autonomous republics.

Drafts on Security, Special Services Reviewed

OW2101163392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1315 GMT 21 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Draft laws on federal security, on control over special services and on criminal investigation are to be prepared by mid-February. This was a decision taken by the defense and security committee of the Russian parliament after a hearing of Victor Barannikov, the director general of the Federal Security Agency (FSA), was held on Tuesday [21 January]. Mr. Barannikov said the Russian authorities intend to rename the FSA into the Ministry of Federal Security and submitted a draft statute of the MFS and its internal structure.

Other FSA chiefs are to be appointed and dismissed jointly by Mr. Barannikov and the intermcommittee parliamentary commission for security system personnel set up last summer.

The commission's chairman, Mr. Andrey Beloborodov told IF [INTERFAX] that president Yeltsin had violated his own decree N233 issued on November 26, which transformed the Russian KGB into the FSA, by appointing Mr. Victor Barannikov. The decree specifically says that the first FSA chief is to be appointed by the president by agreement with the parliament.

Committee Drafts Doctrine, Conscription Bills

OW2101163892 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1315 GMT 21 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Defense and Security Committee of the Russian parliament is drafting the republic's military doctrine and bills on conscription and alternative service, the committee's deputy head Aleksandr Kotenkov told IF [INTERFAX]. He said that early in February the doctrine would be submitted for discussion to the Commander-in-Chief of the Commonwealth armed forces and the chief of the General Staff.

The committee is also concluding work on a bill on the oath of enlistment. Mr. Kotenkov attaches considerable significance to the fact that servicemen will be required to swear not to turn weapons against their own people. The future law will concern the armed forces alone; security and interior ministry troops will be required to sign contracts.

Mr. Kotenkov does not rule out that Russia may soon form armed forces of its own, when its troops stationed outside the Commonwealth, notably in the Baltic region, Georgia, Germany, Poland and Mongolia, transfer to RSFSR jurisdiction.

Committee Drafts Resolution on Aid for Media

LD2101225192 Moscow TASS in English 2012 GMT 21 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow January 21 TASS—The Russian parliamentary committee on mass media today discussed state aid to the publication of Russian newspapers, magazines and books.

A draft government resolution to this effect prepared by the committee provides for the liberation of periodicals in 1992 from tax on value of commodity, and reduction of rates of tax on profits by 50 per cent.

This year enterprises of the wood-pulp and paper industry are expected to have a state order for newsprint at a volume of 80 per cent of last year's order. Corresponding ministries are instructed to provide raw materials in the first instance to enterprises of the wood-pulp and paper industry involved in the fulfilment of the state order for newsprint.

The draft resolution has been sent to the Russian president with a request to speed up its consideration and signing.

Constitutional Commission Holds Session

LD2201041792

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 1545 GMT on 21 January broadcasts the 15-minute "Parliamentary Herald" program presented by Russian People's Deputy Igor Zbronzhko.

Zbronzhko reports that in the Constitutional Commission of the House of Soviets held a session which examined: The constitutional practice of republics forming part of the Russian Federation, krays, autonomous oblasts, and autonomous okrugs; the amendment of the constitutional regulation of human rights and obligations; and the plan for publicity for the draft Constitution of the Russian Federation.

Zbronzhko then interviews O.G. Rumyantsev, senior secretary of the Constitutional Commission. Rumyantsev discusses the question of the constitutions so far drafted for Yakutia, Tuva, and Tataria. There could be a war of constitutions, he says. The Tatar constitution ignores the fact that Tatarstan is a republic within the Russian Federation. It is the constitution of a fully independent state. The draft Yakut constitution ignores the question that Russian laws operate in Yakutia. The Russian Federation is only given minimal powers for protection of the state border and defense of the Yakut republic.

These questions were discussed today without abuse or slogans being hurled. It was decided that an agreement on delimitation of powers between federal power and republican power must be initialed. The relevant draft agreement on delimitation of powers was approved by the plenary session of the previous Constitutional Commission. Today this was amended and it will be examined. It will next be initialed and then forwarded to the Congress of People's Deputies and adopted as a law and enshrined in the existing Constitution.

Today the commission decided to initiate the forming of a parliamentary delegation for talks with Tataria and Yakutia primarily because the recently signed draft agreement between Gaydar and Sabirov goes outside the governmental powers, Rumyantsev says.

He goes on to speak of the urgent need to revise the Russian Constitution, his pet subject for the past two years. The Russian Federation cannot be held together by purely constitutional methods.

"We cannot ignore the fact that Tataria is preparing to regulate its relations with Russia by means of a treaty and Yakutia as we have seen today has served us a draft interstate Russia-Yakutia treaty and obviously the Russian Federation will become some kind of mixed formation between federation and confederation," Rumyantsev says. "There will be a basic framework Constitution but it will have attached to it treaties whether with Tataria or Yakutia. It is not ruled out that some of these states will receive the status of associate state as Puerto Rico is in relation to the United States."

Tatar Secession Viewed

LD2201000292 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1105 GMT 14 Jan 92

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] Experts of the Russian Federation's Constitutional Commission note that the draft Tatarstan constitution utterly disregards the actual and legal status of the Republic within the Russian Federation.

They expect a number of complex political, economic and legal problems to arise in the event of Tatarstan's secession from Russia, including the issues of the state frontier and re-distribution of territory, choice of citizenship, the destiny of the Russian property in the Tatarstan territory.

Rumyantsev News Conference on Tatarstan Talks

LD1401153992 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1230 GMT 14 Jan 92

[Correspondent Aleksandr Ruvinskiy report from the Supreme Soviet building]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] A news conference is being held here in the Supreme Soviet building by Oleg Germanovich Rumyantsev, secretary of the Constitutional Commission and People's Deputy. He has just returned from Tatarstan. As is known, Tatarstan has just embarked on the road toward state independence—which is causing concern among many people.

Oleg Rumyantsev attempted to answer a question on why the Russian authorities are silent about the situation. [passage omitted] Oleg Germanovich noted that the ordinary people in the republic, with whom he spoke, had in general quite a calm and restrained attitude toward the situation. He said that it is, basically, the nationalist leaders—who are insisting on a position of obtaining independence and demanding that the authorities should also support such a position—who are inflaming the situation.

The conclusion of an interstate treaty between Russia and Tatarstan is under discussion. That is, the virtual recognition of Tatarstan's independence. And so, in connection with this, a somewhat different path is being proposed. Well, in general, a normal constitutional path would be what? To consider this issue in the constitutional court, to analyze the decrees that have been adopted in Tatarstan during recent times. And then the issue of sanctions might arise. Well, this would lead to an aggravation of the situation and to inflamed passions. Nevertheless, a constitutional discussion process is being proposed—that a document be disseminated, that a law be adopted at the next congress of people's deputies on the delimitation of powers between the federal bodies of Russia and the authority of the republics, krays and oblasts that are part of the Russian Federation.

The preparation of such a document is already underway. It will evidently soon be presented—a draft—by the president. This would permit, the member of the Constitutional Commission and the member of the working group which visited Tatarstan considers, a way out of the impasse to be found, and thus the disintegration of the Russian state—of which there is quite a real threat—to be prevented. In such a case, Tatarstan would gain the status of an associated state. [passage omitted]

Monetary Restrictions, Measures Considered

LD2201002392 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1105 GMT 14 Jan 91

[From the "Domestic Market" section]

[Text] Use of cash may be limited in the territory of the Russian Federation. The Presidium of the Russian Federation's Supreme Soviet on January 13 adopted a resolution on introducing new-issue supposed to be introduced in the Russian Federation, beginning from January 20, 1992. Under the resolution, all juridical and physical persons shall be required to accept checks in the territory of the Russian Federation equally with cash. Multi-purpose standardized checks will supposedly be used to pay for large purchases.

Introduction of limitations on use of cash was proposed in the draft resolution of the Russian Federation's Supreme Soviet on urgent measures to normalize cash circulation in the Russian Federation in the first quarter of 1992 considered on January 13, 1992 by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet,. Under the draft, purchases costing more than R [ruble] 5,000 are to be paid for with checks. It is also proposed to temporarily suspend extension of credits to population, other than credits extended to farmers and lease-holders working in agriculture. All settlements for commodities and material assets between enterprises located in the territory of the Russian Federation are to be conducted by written order. The draft envisages issuing large-denomination banknotes, coining small-size 1-, 5-, 10- and 50-ruble money of light metal alloys. It is proposed to set a ceiling on payable postal money orders, letters of credit, checks and deposits received from territories of several former union republics which have already introduced similar limitations. The draft resolution will be submitted to the consideration of the Russian Federation's Supreme Soviet.

Defense Committee: Officers Meeting 'Negative'

LD2101201292 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1900 GMT 21 Jan 92

[Text] The Defense Committee of the Russian Supreme Soviet has assessed as negative the results of the recent officers meeting in Moscow. Their statement, circulated by the parliament's press center, was that the military circles have demonstrated their aggressiveness to the whole world, as well as their wish to bring pressure to bear on the country's authorities. The unprecedented meeting of the officers, the statement continues, appears to have been prepared well in advance and has further aggravated some of the problems. According to the committee members, reforms in the Army must begin with developing a military doctrine as a legal document reflecting the principles of the military makeup in the country.

Primakov Blocks Disclosure of CPSU Papers

LD2101135192 Moscow TASS in English 1313 GMT 21 Jan 92

[Text] Moscow January 21 TASS—Documents on the former Soviet Communist Party funds in other countries are kept in the archives of the former KGB First Chief Department, said Aleksey Surkov, a member of the Russian parliamentary commission investigating the causes of the 1991 August putsch in the country.

In an interview with the newspaper KURANTY, he said "I'm sure there are accounts in the archives about all hard currency transferences to foreign countries. All financial operations were carefully registered. We were also shown 'special files' from the archive of the CPSU Central Committee general secretary. But they contained only few secret accounts, while the Chief Department has all of them".

Surkov also mentioned the commission is receiving reports, which have yet to be verified, that former Soviet Prime Minister Valentin Pavlov and former KGB chief Vladimir Kryuchkov have hard currency accounts in other countries. He added that the family of the former Soviet leader, Leonid Brezhnev, has mass hard currency accounts in Western banks.

Surkov stressed that such swindles could have been carried out with the help of Kryuchkov's son, KGB station chief in Switzerland, and Pavlov's son, who worked in one of the banks in Luxembourg.

Surkov said some of those accounts have already been discovered, but the commission's attempts to obtain information on the rest of them were impaired by Yevgeniy Primakov, head of the Russian Intelligence Service, who said the disclosure of archival materials may expose intelligence service agents in other countries.

Vorontsov Cited on Division of Armed Forces

LD1601182092 Moscow TASS in English 1446 GMT 16 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow January 16 TASS—This is a new (Russian) parliament, I can tell by deputies' faces they are embarking on the path of creation, rather than opposition, Russian representative to the United Nations Yuliy Vorontsov told TASS on Thursday [16 January].

Vorontsov came to the Russian parliamentary building to meet Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev. "It so happened that I can meet him only here before I leave for New York tonight", he explained.

Vorontsov denied rumours he plans to change his work.

Important developments taking place in the former Soviet Union raise quite a few new problems which are to be discussed already now, and the U.N. Security Council might dwell on them late in January already, Vorontsov said.

Military problems are the main ones. "I am afraid of attempts to divide the armed forces", Vorontsov explained, but added people will lose their nationalistic spirit with time and will pay more attention to common problems. "Dazzled in their own corner of our big apartment, people will then start to look to the centre of the common space and the situation in the former Union will change", he said.

But there should be no hurry in the process. "We failed to solve many problems in the past six years, because it was necessary to deal with them quietly, by phases and with no haste. But that does not concern economic reforms. Any delay here may be fatal, Vorontsov warned. [quotation marks as received]

Yeltsin Signs Decree on Press Agencies Merger

LD2201120192 Moscow TASS in English 1042 GMT 22 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow January 22 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin signed a decree, merging TASS and the former APN news agencies into a new information structure named "RITA"—the Russian Information Telegraph Agency, Mikhail Poltoranin, the Russian information minister, told a meeting of the mass media committee of the Russian parliament on Wednesday [22 January].

The Information Ministry drafted the decree in a bid to have a Russian state news agency, which will transmit news throughout Russia, the Commonwealth and abroad. The RITA news agency will be subordinate to the Russian president, government and parliament. The Russian Information Agency (RIA) will stay as an alternative joint stock company, according to Poltoranin.

Russian authorities plan to preserve the TASS trademark only on the internal news market in Russia and the Commonwealth, as the world service news wire will be transmitted by the APN.

A joint stock economically independent news agency is planned to be created on the basis of the APN, according to Poltoranin.

Regional Affairs

Further on Khasbulatov's Udmurtiya Visit

Meets Scientists, Farmers

PM2001140892 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 20 Jan 92 First Edition p 1

[Special correspondent Aleksandr Linkov report: "More Questions Than Answers"]

[Text] The 18 January meeting between Russian Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov and scientists of the Udmurt Republic ended at about 2200. There was a long, frank discussion. Many problems have arisen recently for representatives of academy, sector, and vuz [higher educational establishment] science. What the scientists most wanted to know was: How will we live in future? Unless Russia's leadership takes steps of some kind in the near future, scientific workers will find themselves having to choose to either continue the work you love and receive miserly wages or go and look for a more lucrative job. Recently the government allocated funds for wages, but only for one month—January. Not a kopek was received for doing any scientific work or research. It is now no secret that Udmurtiya is a region where defense enterprises are concentrated, and where over the decades a mighty scientific potential has come together in this sector. Now finance has been cut sharply and virtually no scientific developments are under way. Vuz teachers are seriously concerned about the decline in young people's interest in scientific work. Promising young people are simply not going in for postgraduate work, realizing that it would mean condemning themselves to inaction and an uncertain future.

Before this meeting, the Russian Supreme Soviet chairman had two others. Immediately after his arrival in Izhevsk he visited the Izhmash Production Association. At a small exhibition set up here by defense industry enterprises, you can see output manufactured for the population. When you see all these riches you ask yourself in astonishment: Why is it not in the stores? An eloquent answer to this question was supplied by a visit to the plant's main production line. It has operated for only five days in January. This is because all the economic ties are broken, there is an acute shortage of raw materials, and only 20 percent of the necessary contracts have been concluded for deliveries of subassemblies. This state of affairs is characteristic of all the republic's enterprises. Leaders of defense enterprises who were invited to the meeting spoke about the need to take steps on a legislative basis and handed Ruslan Khasbulatov a package of proposals.

There was a difficult discussion at the other meeting, in Zavyalovskiy Rayon, where a large hog-fattening complex belonging to the Vostochnyy Sovkhoz is located. Country people are now facing a difficult choice: to be free peasants or to stay in collective farms. It is not easy to take the first step. Enormous difficulties have arisen recently. The chairman of one local kolkhoz cited an example: Whereas only recently a GAZ-53 truck cost just over 3,000 rubles, now its price has risen to nearly 200,000. Neither kolkhozes nor individual farmers can survive in such a crazy market. Deep in the countryside there are no roads, and social questions are not being tackled at all. Given this approach to the countryside, if everything remains unchanged, villages will simply disappear from the face of our land.

The Russian Supreme Soviet chairman remained true to himself on this trip. At all the meetings, he warned that he did not come here to give precious instructions or to appoint or replace people. The purpose of the working visit is to study in greater depth all the processes taking place in these difficult times, to hear from people what could be done on particular questions, and to take these proposals into account in drafting laws.

On 19 January Russian Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov met with Udmurt people's deputies and members of the republic Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers, visited a military unit, and held a news conference on the results of the working visit.

On Defense Sector, Prices

PM2101160492 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 21 Jan 92 pp 1-2

[Special correspondent S. Drozdov report: "Working Weekend in Izhevsk: How R. Khasbulatov's Visit to Udmurtiya Went"]

[Text] Izhevsk and Moscow—From a conversation on board the plane from Moscow to Izhevsk:

[Khasbulatov] "The legislators need to know people's attitude to the laws that are pouring out of the White House; they need to know the consequences of our initiatives, the deviations from them...."

[Unidentified correspondent] "What question will you find difficult to answer, Ruslan Imranovich?"

[Khasbulatov] "People will, of course, ask about prices, and the industrialists will ask about taxes too. What can I say? I understand the government, which says: Unless we collect revenue through taxes, we will have no resources for social needs. But on the other hand, the tax burden clearly does not stimulate production growth..."

...Probably the most important thing in Izhevsk is the defense sector. The Izhmash Production Association, Udmurtiya's biggest, is first and foremost focused on military output, and only then cars, engines, motor cycles. The meeting with directors of the Izhmash plants was perhaps the most important for Khasbulatov. He evidently wanted to get an idea of their mood and find out to what extent the mighty defense sector structure supports the reform, whether it will withstand it, and whether the collectives will survive.

Journalists were not allowed into a secret plant producing military equipment and weapons, but they were shown the fruits of conversion: food processors, lathes, hunting rifles, washing machines.

Then the plants' directors gathered together and said to Khasbulatov: The goods he has seen should be put on the list of endangered species. Apart from the people of Izhevsk themselves, maybe no one else will ever see them. The value-added tax is simply stifling them.

Khasbulatov could not deny the justice of this criticism. But at the same time, he stressed that the main danger to the implementation of the present reforms is unprofessionalism and lack of discipline, when the Russian leadership's decrees, laws, and directives are not fulfilled. He added that he has thought for a long time that criminal accountability for failing to fulfill laws should be brought in.

Any tour by "top" people is timetabled down to the last minute, leaving no time for "extra" meetings and questions. But Khasbulatov agreed to meet with representatives of the opposition in the local parliament.

During Khasbulatov's visit the republic leaders proposed that Udmurt missions be opened in the Russian embassies in Finland, Hungary, and Estonia, since the peoples of those countries are ethnically related to the Udmurts. Second, they would like to sell 30 percent of the oil extracted in Udmurtiya at their own discretion. Last, there is the desire to sell weapons abroad.

The military have other problems. When the high-ranking guest arrived at the missile unit where a meeting with unit commanders was held, they wanted to show him that the sentry now guards not a red flag, but a white, red, and blue one. However, it turned out that the flag had been locked in the safe after all: There was no one to stand at the post. The commanding officers said: A Russian law on universal military service must be adopted urgently. At the moment, there are not even enough soldiers for regular duties.

At the Vostochnyy Sovkhoz on the edge of the city, Khazbulatov went into the store. It must be observed that the food situation in the city is tolerable. There is sausage, cheese, meat, dairy products. Prices are much the same as everywhere: expensive. At the Vostochnyy Sovkhoz, which Khasbulatov visited, they explained to him that now that feed and equipment have gone up in price dozens of times, meat cannot be cheap. Tractors and combines are now beyond the means not only of the private individual but also of the profitable farms. If everything stays like this, in a few months agriculture will simply fall apart. We will have nothing to eat at all....

Ruslan Khasbulatov went to Izhevsk to listen to opinions. He heard them. What will parliament say?

Supports Land Reform, Privatization

LD2001225692 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1820 GMT 18 Jan 92

[By correspondents Alfred Artamonov and Aleksey Tabachnikov]

[Text] Izhevsk, 18 Jan (TASS)—"Land reform requires a thoughtful and careful approach," Russian Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov said today at a meeting with representatives of Urdmurtiya's farming community. "We must not repeat past mistakes and use strong-arm tactics against the farmers." Ruslan Khasbulatov stressed that the Russian parliament will pursue a policy of "supporting the viable collective and state farms," but at the same time everything must be done to promote the creation of private farms. The chairman of the Russian parliament spoke of the need for adjustments to taxation policy to stimulate production.

Popov Rejects New Government Composition

LD2001203192 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 20 Jan 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Excerpt] Moscow Mayor Gavriil Popov has turned down the composition of a new government proposed by Yuriy Luzhkov and which already has acquired the name of "the cabinet of hasty economic reforms." [passage omitted]

Moscow Public Security Militia Created

LD2001172192 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0600 GMT 20 Jan 92

[Text] The mayor's office reports that it has been decided to set up a public security militia [militia obshchestvennoy bezopasnosti] in Moscow. Leonid Nikitin, deputy head of the capital's main directorate of internal affairs, has been appointed its head. Before holding this post, he headed the Taganskiy Rayon directorate of internal affairs and in his time carried out an experiment to set up in this rayon a municipal militia.

Demonstrators Protest Prices in Vladivostok

LD2001073292 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0630 GMT 20 Jan 92

[By correspondent Timofey Orekhov]

[Text] Vladivostok, 20 Jan (TASS)—People's deputies who assembled for a session of the small soviet almost had to force their way into the kray administration building this morning. Around 200 picketers carrying posters saying: "We are for the market, but against crippling prices!", "We demand bread, not shows, or lines for it!" gathered at the entrance.

Several people managed to get into the entrance but were thrown out into the biting cold by reinforced militia units. "I was the one who personally made the decision not to allow the demonstrators into the building," militia Major Anatoliy Vasilchenko, commander of the independent militia regiment guarding state institution buildings, told TASS. But he let the cat out of the bag then and there when he said that he had made this decision on the verbal instructions of an administration official, whose name he preferred not to mention.

The kray federation of trade unions organized "the mob," as a clerk of the administration's apparatus said in the presence of the TASS correspondent, in protest against runaway prices and the failure of the local authorities to adopt social protection measures for the needy. The cost of the consumer basket, which according to estimates by trade unions is nearly 2,000 rubles, has not yet been announced to the people of the Maritime Kray.

It is intended to discuss at today's sitting of the small soviet the question of additional measures for the social protection of the poor and needy sections of the population. It's true that it was moved at the last moment from the top to the middle of the agenda—perhaps to spite the picketers, perhaps because of the degree of priority of importance.

Undelivered Imports Stack Up in Vladivostok

LD2201030692 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0800 GMT 21 Jan 92

[Text] Vladivostok trade port, which has been open to foreign vessels since the beginning of the year, today has all the appearance of a man who has gorged himself after a period of starvation. From the very start of the new regime at the Far East's maritime gates, ships under foreign flags at once began delivering their cargoes—mostly in the form of containers, which Vladivostok's wharves are not equipped to handle or store. As of today there are some 1,500 containers of imports piled up there, TASS reports. Basic essential goods people across the country are clamoring for at empty shop counters have been lying like dead weight in the port. The total value of the clothing, shoes, and food which have not found their way to the purchasers comes to almost 200 million rubles.

Chechen To Grant Asylum to Gamsakhurdia

LD2101122492 Berlin ADN in German 1136 GMT 21 Jan 92

[Excerpt] Moscow/Groznyy (ADN)—The Chechen Republic intends to grant deposed Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia political asylum, should he request it. A resolution on this was passed by the republic's parliament in a session in the capital Groznyy, President Dzhokhar Dudayev said in an interview for the RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY published on 21 January. Dudayev reaffirmed his view that Gamsakhurdia was "not a refugee [Vertriebener] but rather still the legitimate head of state of the Caucasian republic, elected by the majority of the people".

Dudayev described those currently in power in Tbilisi as a "militant group without a political program and without a firm base in the population." They were only able to take power thanks to support by the Russian Army, in particular the Transcaucasian Military District, he said. Dudayev spoke in favor of a political solution to the conflicts in Georgia. "The Caucasian knot can only be undone if the Kremlin does not interfere in the development of events," the former general stressed. His republic will support any initiative aimed at solving all the disputed issues in the region, he added. [passage omitted]

Chechen Official: No 'Militants' to Georgia

LD2101175792 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1217 GMT 21 Jan 92

[By correspondent Sharip Asuyev]

[Text] Groznyy, 21 Jan (TASS)—Groznyy's firm stand—under no circumstances to interfere in the internal affairs of Georgia—was confirmed today in a conversation between a TASS correspondent and Mate Tsikhesashvili, a member of the Committee for International Affairs of the Chechen parliament.

He categorically refuted reports on the participation of armed Chechens in Georgian events on the side of Zviad Gamsakhurdia. "Neither the parliament nor Dzhokhar Dudayev has sent armed militants to Georgia," he stressed. Mate Tsikhesashvili thinks that these rumors are being spread especially to drive a wedge between the Chechen and Georgian peoples.

Before election to the parliament of the Chechen Republic in October last year, Mate Tsikhesashvili was the deputy prefect in Akhmetovskiy Rayon of Georgia, which is primarily inhabited by families of Chechen extraction. According to some data, residents of Akhmetovskiy Rayon, who are called Kistins in Georgia, actively support Zviad Gamsakhurdia. But, according to Mate Tsikhesashvili, even they did not take part in the armed actions.

At the same time a reliable source in Groznyy reported to the TASS correspondent that a secret agreement was concluded between Chechniya and the Georgian president a few days ago on the conditions regarding aid to Zviad Gamsakhurdia. But this is being categorically denied in official circles in Groznyy.

Chechen OMON To Use Weapons Against Criminals

LD1801144192 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1131 GMT 18 Jan 92

[By correspondent Sharip Asuyev]

[Text] Groznyy, 18 Jan (TASS)—The local detachment of special purpose militia [OMON] has announced that it may use its weapons against criminals without warning. A message to fellow citizens, made public today, says that no mercy will be shown to criminals. At the same time, the OMON men urge decent people to assist in normalizing the acute crime-inducing situation that has worsened recently in the Chechen Republic.

The OMON announces that in accordance with a decree of President Dzhokhar Dudayev, any attempt to disobey the detachment's personnel will be stopped with weapons.

Dudayev Cited on Economic Ties With Germany

*LD2101112492 Berlin ADN in German
1212 GMT 21 Jan 92*

[Excerpts] Groznyy/Berlin (ADN)— Dzhokhar Dudayev, president of the Chechen Republic, has stated that he is interested in closer links between his republic and Germany. He has instructed the Council of Ministers to present a plan for privatization and to create the preconditions for protecting foreign investment, he told a group of German industrialists in the capital Grozyny. [passage omitted]

The industrialists said after their return on 20 January that Dudayev had spoken of the common ground between Germany and his country. German capital was invested in the northern Caucasian region before WWII. The country's wealth could now be linked to German technology and international capital.

Dudayev told the industrialists that the setting up of a new banking system with a national currency and central bank, intended to lead to currency convertibility and foreign exchange dealings, was one of the next economic tasks, and that he favored the German banking system. Other objectives were the renewal of agriculture aimed at self-sufficiency; the modernization of the oil production and processing industry; the creation of a modern construction industry to develop the infrastructure; and the building of hotels, shops, and offices.

Chechen-Ingush Elders View Border Issues

LD2001210892 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 18 Jan 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Today the Caucasus has turned into a knot of contradictions. A week ago the parliament of the Chechen Republic issued a decree on the transfer of Sunzhenskiy Rayon, bordering Ingushetia, to Chechniya. This decision has caused a mixed reaction in Chechniya and Ingushetia. So far each party prefers to take unilateral decisions.

Chechens and Ingushes have always lived together. These people have much in common. Therefore, the attempt to fix a state border between them has immediately led to a worsening of mutual relations. Chechen President Dzhokhar Dudayev has attempted to defuse the tension with a veto he has imposed on his parliament's recent decision to reorganize Sunzhenskiy Rayon and fix the border.

The border question was also discussed today at a meeting of elders of Chechen and Ingush ethnicity. It was held in Groznyy. The wise and experienced elders attempted to find mutual understanding and to avoid further escalation of the situation. Also today, the executive committee of the national congress of the Chechen people met.

Tatarstan Government Asks for Troop Cuts

*LD2101114292 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English
1818 GMT 16 Jan 92*

[From the "Military News" section]

[Text] Troops deployed in Tatarstan should be reduced, Tatar Government believes.

This was told to PF [POSTFACTUM] on January 13 by Tatar Prime Minister Muhammad Sabirov, who commented on the economic agreement between the Russian and Tatar Governments, signed late in December by Russian Vice-Premier Yegor Gaydar and Muhammad Sabirov. The agreement stresses that the Russian Defence Ministry has its units deployed in Tatarstan and maintains them at its own expense. Yet, it remains to be decided by the supreme soviets of the two republics what units it will be and what strength they will have. The only thing I know for sure is that we should not have that many troops on our territory. In the opinion of Sabirov, strategic weapons should not be deployed on Tatar territory either. The Tatar prime minister believes that the problem of military schools should also be discussed. At present there are three military schools in Kazan—the Suvorov school, the tank school and the missile-artillery school.

Tatarstan President Shaimiyev Interviewed

PM1701160192 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 16 Jan 92 p 1

[Interview with Tatarstan Republic President Mintimer Shaimiyev by correspondent B. Vishnevskiy; place and date not given: "Kazan Kremlin Gives Guarantees"]

[Text] [Vishnevskiy] Mintimer Sharipovich, the Tatarstan Republic flag flutters above your residence. It is a green, white, and red tricolor with vertical stripes. What does this range of colors symbolize?

[Shaimiyev] Some people see an underlying religious and political message in it. This is of course untrue: Stereotypical views are influencing people here. Take the systems characterizing many Orthodox and Catholic countries. From the most ancient times this self-same green signified life, hope...

[Vishnevskiy] It is natural that the meanings of such characteristics help to strengthen statehood. This is what Tatarstan strove for in the 1920's and 1930's and right up to recent times...

[Shaimiyev] Historical justice should definitely be restored. A people, once having possessed its own statehood, will never come to terms with its loss. Between 1922 and 1937, Tatarstan was included in the list of the Union's cofounders but did not "join" it because of the subjective Stalinist view of things.

Second, is it possible not to take into consideration the actual state of affairs that the republic's potential—its industrial, agricultural, scientific, technical, and intellectual potential—has grown immeasurably. In terms of population size, the Tatars are second in Russia and seventh in the country as a whole. But do such characteristics (and you can add to them) really fit in with some conception of our being one of yesterday's second-class autonomous entities?

[Vishnevskiy] At the Alma-Ata news conference, Boris Yeltsin stated that yesterday's autonomous entities which earlier formed part of Russia will remain within it, but that a separate treaty will be concluded with Tatarstan.

[Shaimiyev] The Minsk and Alma-Ata accords recorded the wishes of 11 independent states which resolved to create a form of international life based on the principles of international law. It is important that they not only talk of respecting the republics' sovereignty, but also recognized the necessity to strengthen historical ties, traditions of friendship, and good-neighborliness. A separate statement was made about the responsibility to maintain civil calm and international accord. In our opinion the process begun is not limited to the interests of the Commonwealth's founder states. It affects the interests of all the former USSR's entities. We consider that Tatarstan's membership of the Commonwealth, as well as that of other former autonomous entities that have declared their state sovereignty, has a basis in law. Such a step would also correspond to the Commonwealth's highest political aims, and the course its members have taken toward radical reforms.

[Vishnevskiy] Another 50 "obstinate" national state formations are observing Tatarstan very carefully. Do you agree that their dialogue with Moscow is today acquiring a decisive and global significance for the country?

[Shaimiyev] We are against disintegration. But the RSFSR cannot remain completely unreformed at a time when the Commonwealth is being formed. It is as if perestroyka has affected only the peoples of the Union republics without affecting the others—the former autonomous entities—at all. On the contrary, these processes are even more irreversible here. You cannot close your eyes to the realities, as the Extraordinary Congress of USSR People's Deputies did when it canceled out what the "younger brothers" achieved during the perestroyka years. This failure to recognize the obvious provoked a stormy reaction in the national state formations. But was it really not possible to predict these spiraling and at times destructive processes?

[Vishnevskiy] In his time Academician Sakharov also demanded an equal and full status for these formations. Let us assume that they received it. What would happen then?

[Shaimiyev] The union of Russia with the other republics should be one where there are equal rights. But to what degree they are capable of coping with autonomy is their own affair. This capability of theirs will also determine the scale of the bilateral treaty.

[Vishnevskiy] Recently the Russian and Tatarstan Governments for the first time initialed such a treaty—or, to be more accurate—agreement about economic cooperation. There have been some 15 months of talks, dozens of specialists involved from one side and the other...

[Shaimiyev] We have for the moment determined our position with regard to issues concerning property and foreign trade activity. Property will pass to the republic's jurisdiction, although forms of joint interrepublic ownership are also envisaged. In the second half [of the agreement] they arrived at a recognition of import restrictions and licensing of output by mutual accord. In the future we will continue to determine a fixed volume for mutually advantageous deliveries in a single economic area. The republic will have to use its discretion in other things. As far as the budget and taxes are concerned, we will have to do some work on that. Our standpoint is to come up with a single-band form of taxation. In short it is a question of complete economic autonomy, meeting commitments and deliveries, and preserving all ties.

[Vishnevskiy] You as a politician have shown yourself to be pragmatic centrist. You have managed to avoid representatives of extreme views. In this connection, how do you react to the idea of the Tatarstan Movement for Democratic Reforms [TMDR] to create a shadow cabinet? To the National Assembly (Milli Medzhilis), which it appears the Tatar people's forthcoming congress will elect?

[Shaimiyev] Centrism is the most complex thing in politics. But it stands the test life sets it, especially in a republic with such national parity as Tatarstan. If the TMDR succeeds in proposing an attractive and, what is important, a realistic program, I am ready to cooperate. As far as the radical nationalists, the extremist wing of the "Ittifak" party, and the Democratic Party of Russia are concerned, I have openly distanced myself from them. These people want to solve by force problems which demand long and painstaking work. But the people will no longer accept violence.

[Vishnevskiy] The republic parliament has come to a decision about holding a referendum on the question of state independence. Do you agree that there is only one way to increase the number of people voting "yes" by granting the people the greatest number of guarantees and by so doing soften the blows of market forces?

[Shaimiyev] This was after all our starting point. We succeeded in protecting poor people after the April price rise. We are raising the salaries of people employed in budget-financed occupations by 100 percent—more than in Russia. The transfer of enterprises to the jurisdiction of Tatarstan guarantees them concessions as free commodity producers. Our prices, though they are rising in the new year, will not be ahead of others.

[Vishnevskiy] A separate program has been worked out in Tatarstan for January's price liberalization. What kind of a program is it?

[Shaimiyev] We base ourselves on the premise that the consequences of the "shock therapy" which has been announced is in need of some cushioning. If only in part, in the initial stages. Therefore produce in January will cost us two to three times less. Subsidies for these purposes will amount to about half a billion rubles [R].

But we still have hundreds of thousands of pensioners, students, and other citizens who are not well off. Another R50 billion will be needed in January to raise pensions and stipends and to pay for lunches, including free ones. As far as concerns defending the market, we are having to resort to introducing coupons and broadening the network of checkpoints limiting the export of produce.

Stresses Recognition

LD2101093892 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1640 GMT 16 Jan 92

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] The most important thing for Tatarstan today is its recognition by CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] member states and members of the world community, Mintimer Shaimiyev says.

Speaking on January 15 in Kazan at a meeting with editors of local newspapers, Tatar President Mintimer Shaimiyev pointed out that relations between Tatarstan and Russia would continue to develop on the basis of mutually advantageous cooperation between two republics with equal rights.

Views Price Liberalization

LD2101123492 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1757 GMT 18 Jan 92

[Text] In his interview granted to SOVIETSKAYA TATARIYA (SOVIET TATARSTAN) and published on January 18, President Shaimiyev pointed out that the republican leadership has selected the true course to transit to liberation of prices and two weeks in January provide ample evidence for that. The government has agreed to substantive spendings of budget, thus being able to keep back the price rise for certain food products. The result of it has been more quiet way of accepting liberation of prices in the republic, as compared to other regions. The president quoted last year's experience when the republic abolished the system of tax in kind and the state assignment, which provided for obligatory deliveries of only some part of agricultural products. We have chosen a more stringent option, stated Shaimiyev. The treaties agreed with economic units presuppose no less volume as compared with the past. We have been assailed for our "extra-economic methods" but it has been only this stand which enables us to retain guaranteed deliveries against ration coupons of the population. The Tatarstan president underlined that nowadays the minister of agriculture of Russia has also voiced officially the necessity to establish the whole volume of state purchases through contracts.

What puts me on the alert, pointed out the president, is the ideology of implementing the reform. Why have we made a rule to carry out whatever changes in this country at the expense of people? Shaimiyev expressed his doubts in that people would live better in 7 or 8 months as it is promised to them. The basis of this improvement is yet not clear. The agreed contracts do not outnumber those agreed last year. Economic ties of enterprises have deteriorated. The transition to market is inevitable, said the president, but it should be carried out gradually. We should progress towards the market without dramatic drop in living standards of our people while there still is a possibility to regulate the process.

While commenting on statements made in January by national patriots in local press regarding the necessity of setting up the national parliament (Milli Mejlis) Mintimer Shaimiyev pointed out that he would welcome this idea if it were so that our efforts be directed towards spiritual revival of the nation, promotion of culture and language. He resolutely denounced attempts of nationalists to set up parallel structures of power to the end of replacing the legally elected parliament. He is inclined to believe that these extremist escapades are backed by nothing else but the desire of some not very competent, but sufficiently ambitious people to self-assert. People will not follow them. And that's why I'm unperturbed.

Vows Resistance Against Extremists

OW1901211792 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1230 GMT 19 Jan 92

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] Tatarstan's President Mintimer Shaimiyev has stated that extremist forces in his republic would never break him down.

In an interview with the newspaper "Sovetskaya Tatariya" he described a recent statement of retired Colonel Zaki Zainullin, chairman of the organizing committee on the convocation of Milli Mejlis (the National Congress), urging parliament's dissolution, the creation of parallel power strucutures and president's resignation, as "an attempt to aggravate the political situation in the republic."

Earlier, Shaimiyev announced his support for the creation of Milli Mejlis, which, in his words, is designed to be "a union of Tatars for resolving ethnic problems." (A republican kurultai on elections to Milli Majlis is scheduled for February 1-2). However, the president noted that all attempts to set up alternative power structures will be nipped in the bud.

Commenting on the secretary of the Russian parliamentary consitutional commission Oleg Rumyantsev's statements concerning Tatarstan's draft constitution, the president pointed out that the Russian draft constitution ignores the declarations on sovereignty adopted by former autonomies. Shaimiyev said that thus the authors of the Russian draft resolution prompt the republics to take protective measures, in particular, to adopt their own constitutions. During his recent trip to Kazan Oleg Rumyantsev criticized Tatarstan's draft constitution for saying nothing about relations with Russia. According to the draft, Tatarstan is proclaimed a sovereign state.

4,000 Tanks in Omsk Forest Up For Sale

LD2101050692 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 2100 GMT 20 Jan 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The story about the tanks withdrawn from Eastern Europe last year has received an unusual continuation. About 4,000 of them were stored in forests near Omsk. Already orders for purchasing the hardware have come from the Netherlands, Yemen, and other countries. North Ossetia, too, is ready to buy 15 tanks. The Russian Ministry of Economy has advised Siberians to sell old tanks by weight, at $10,000 per ton. The problem is that Omsk has no license for selling weapons, INTERFAX reports.

International Affairs

Kravchuk Rules Out Possible War With Russia

LD2201100192 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0800 GMT 22 Jan 92

[Text] In an interview with a group of foreign journalists, Ukraine President Leonid Kravchuk has said that Russia and his republic can resolve all their disagreements within the context of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] and will never wage war on one another. I think, Kravchuk said, that common sense will prevail both in Ukraine and in Russia. The leading task of the leaders of Ukraine and Russia is to prevent a conflict. Acute problems are accumulating in our country, but their acuteness must not lead us to draw the hasty conclusion that the Commonwealth is no longer viable. At the same time, the Ukrainian president reiterated that the CIS would not last long if its members try to diverge from the obligations they have assumed.

Krzhanovskiy on Future of Black Sea Fleet

OW2101142892 Moscow Central Television First Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 2000 GMT 14 Jan 92

[Studio interview with Vladimir Krzhanovskiy, plenipotentiary representative of the Ukraine in Russia, by Aleksandr Panov—live; from the "Utro" program]

[Excerpt] [Panov] We have with us Vladimir Petrovich Krzhanovskiy. He is the Ukraine's plenipotentiary representative in Russia.

Last month you appeared on our program and explained the question of possible double citizenship for all Ukrainians who live in other sovereign states, other former Soviet republics. But life flows too fast and everything changes too fast. It has been less than a month, but I think that Russians, and not only Russians, already have many questions that you, as the Ukrainian representative, could answer. These include the Black Sea Fleet, the coupons that are being introduced in the Ukraine, and even soccer which, as you will probably agree with me, is a game enjoyed by millions. Before we get to the nitty-gritty, I will pose my first question, which you may find somewhat naive: What is better for our peoples—to have friendly relations and cooperation or to lead a parallel existence, to coexist?

[Krzhanovskiy] I want to tell you right away: I dream of a time when Russia will not take interest in the Ukraine only because of issues such as the ones you have just brought up. I am still waiting for the time when we will not have such extraordinary issues.

Of course, no one in the Ukraine is interested in worsening our relations. Our president says that relations with Russia is problem number one for our foreign policy, and the most important goal of the Ukrainian leadership is establishing normal, congenial, neighborly relations with Russia. If we do not achieve this, it will be very bad for the Ukraine, and of course for Russia, too. I would like to tell you that Foreign Minister Kozyrev also said to me: Yes, the establishment of good relations is the number one problem for us, too.

[Panov] So it is better for us to be friends than just coexist...

[Krzhanovskiy, interrupting] This is the general line of the Ukrainian leadership.

[Panov, continues] ...like a divorced couple?

[Krzhanovskiy] Yes, this is the general line of our two peoples.

[Panov] Well, let us then move on to the nitty-gritty. Here is the first question about the Black Sea Fleet. There is a lot of talk about it today so could you tell us about the details? What did they eventually agree on?

[Krzhanovskiy] You see, we are a little surprised that our absolute lack of interest in the Pacific fleet, and the Northern and the Baltic fleets does not provoke any special feelings in Russia. Yet we are not interested in them at all.

What we are concerned with is the smallest and the most backward fleet, the Black Sea Fleet. We are concerned about it for one reason only, and this is that a goodly quarter of our border line is in the sea, in open waters, and we would like to be protected from this direction. In principle, we do not feel that we have a potential enemy. Before, the enemy was created for us, and fear of it was at all times maintained in us. Today we see no such enemy in the Ukraine, and nobody threatens either one of us. Therefore, we could be making mutual accusations. But the Ukraine has absolutely no interest in nuclear weapons. You know well that the Ukraine wants to become a nuclear-free state before the end of 1994, that it wants to remove all nuclear weapons from Ukrainian territory.

Next, we are naturally not interested in a fleet which carries nuclear weapons, it is out of the question. We do not need such a fleet. And if we need the Black Sea Fleet, then it is only the part that we need to protect our border, without any nuclear weapons. We have no claims to the strategic parts of the Black Sea Fleet. This was decided during talks held in Kiev. The talks were very complicated and tense, and what was interesting was that the chief Russian representatives were Sergey Mikhaylovich Shakhray and Army General Kobets. Our side was represented by Colonel General Morozov and our Minister Antonov. So, the interests of the Ukraine were being defended by people with Russian names...

[Panov, interrupting] Our peoples have mingled.

[Krzhanovskiy] And you know, one could see that both sides defended pretty well the interests of the country they were in. I especially want to note the very constructive position of Sergey Mikhaylovich Shakhray, and of

Minister Antonov, head of our delegation. Only through their skilled handling of the talks have we managed to reach the shore, the safe haven.

It was decided that all troops deployed in the Ukraine will be divided into two sub-groups: One is comprised of the CIS strategic troops, including the Black Sea strategic fleet, and the other is made up of all the rest of the troops deployed in the Ukraine, including the major part of the Black Sea Fleet, and apart from that, some formation from southern Ukraine, which is slated for cutbacks in the near future, in accordance with the agreement on the reduction of conventional arms in Europe.

I would even say allegorically that our weapons, our cannon and tanks, will be positioned in such a way that they cannot be turned towards Russia. In this, Russia may be assured. Never will a single weapon be turned against Russia from Ukrainian territory. This is an incontrovertible truth, known to all Ukrainians. Russians, Ukrainians, Poles and Jews, all those who live here—they all know that this will never happen.

[Panov] May God grant this. Taking our history, the history of our two peoples into consideration, it would have been too barbaric. I think that the Russian position is a similar one.

The next question is about the coupons that are being introduced in the Ukraine. Too much is being written and reported about it both in Russia and in other republics. This is a precedent, and everyone is afraid that the colossal quantity of money, of rubles, which is being created in the Ukraine through the exchange of rubles for coupons, will flow to Russian markets, which are now undergoing price liberalization, and cause a further increase in prices. Thus the only real countermeasure seems to be the introduction of our own currency. The same thing will probably happen in other states. Does not the introduction of these coupons cause us to drift even further apart? I mean, that this is a process where every action causes a reaction.

[Krzhanovskiy] You see, I had the chance to be present on many occasions where heads of governments held talks, and I have heard Vitaliy Pavlovich Fokin, our Prime Minister, begging—well, actually I would not say this, he is not a person to beg, he said it pretty firmly—anyhow, he said that what Russia was doing to the other republics, unprepared as they were for price liberalization, was simply terrible, that it was equal to asking us to commit harakiri. We have very little cash in the Ukraine, the printing press is in Russian hands, and we are constantly kept terribly short of cash. We have facilities with a tremendous shortage of currency. Yet Russia still went ahead and did it.

[Panov] It had no choice.

[Krzhanovskiy] When Russia liberalizes prices because it has no choice, it is a normal thing to do. Why is it then that when the Ukraine has no choice but to introduce coupons, it is not a normal thing? One action causes the other. After Russia has liberalized its prices, it is not only that we too have to do it, we have to react to it right away.

The average salary in the Ukraine is about one and half times lower that in Russia. I have seen more than once trains leaving Kiev, and it was some sight, it is literally a train loaded with butter, and with other foodstuffs. This is because the supply of money in Russia is much bigger, and all the goods literally flowed there. My friends from the Donbass tell me that the whole border zone between the Ukraine and Russia is virtually empty, just as if a Mongol invasion had swept through it. [passage omitted].

Kravchuk Notes Russian Monetary Interference

PM1701162392 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 17 Jan 92 p 1

[O. Musafirova report: "L. Kravchuk: Do Not Teach Ukraine How To Live"]

[Text] Kiev—The feeling is growing that there is a huge picture of the enemy posted on the Ukraine's administrative-territorial border (or is it already the state border?) with Russia. Moreover, vigorous work is in train from both sides. On one side people are sure: Those cunning Ukrainians have introduced coupons especially to flood Moscow and its surrounding areas with cheap rubles without giving a single piece of its sovereign fat in exchange. On the other, people are kicking up a fuss saying: Those darn Russians have seized the printing press and are deliberately putting pressure on us with a monetary famine so that the Ukraine wil remain their colony and breadbasket in the future. The international mafia's machinations, the lackluster governments, and the mess in the economy have been forgotten. What nationality you belong to, or to be more precise—your people's exclusivity vis-a-vis its neighbor—is becoming the main factor determining lack of prosperity.

It is the opinion of L. Kravchuk, who appeared on Ukrainian television, that the economic situation in the republic cannot stand any more competition between two parallel currencies—the coupons and the rubles. It is for this reason that the ruble will disappear by February, together with the dishonesty of several departments that bumped up prices without justification. Neither will the state bear responsibility for the rubles that certain unsuspecting citizens have, not in their savings books, but under their beds. After a few months of life with the coupons alone, the Ukrainian monetary unit—the hryvna—will be introduced.

"Everybody considers it his duty to teach the Ukraine how to live, forgetting here the elementary rules of decency," Kravchuk emphasized. "You cannot call this anything but interference in other people's affairs."

The president's speech met with approval in the republic. As the republic's newspapers, to all intents and purposes, have not been appearing since the new year due to a paper shortage, the speech on television was repeated in recorded form at the request of working people.

Iran's Velayati Arrives in Kiev for Oil Talks

LD2101132792 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1250 GMT 21 Jan 92

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Aleksey Petrunya-TASS]

[Text] Kiev, 21 Jan (TASS)—'Ali Akbar Velayati, minister of foreign affairs of Iran, arrived in the Ukrainian capital today. He is heading a delegation including members of parliament, financiers, and economists. A meeting with President Leonid Kravchuk of the Ukraine and other leaders of the country is on the agenda for the visit. Spokesmen for the Ukrainian Ministry of Foreign Affairs told a UKRINFORM correspondent that one of the major topics at the talks will be economic cooperation, in particular the question of the supply of Iranian oil and gas to the Ukraine.

Meets With Kravchuk

LD2101213792 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran First Program Network in Persian 2030 GMT 21 Jan 92

[Text] In his meeting with Ukraine President Leonid Kravchuk on 21 January in Kiev, the capital of that country, Mr. Velayati, our country's foreign minister, delivered a message from President Hashemi-Rafsanjani.

At the meeting, according to the Central News Unit report from Kiev, Mr. Velayati expressed his delight in the will of the Ukrainian people to determine their own fate and to attain their national independence. Then—with due regard to the vast capacities of the two countries in political, economic, and cultural fields—on behalf of the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran he announced a preparedness to start relations with Ukraine on the basis of reciprocity and respect for international regulations.

At the same meeting, the Ukraine president expressed delight at the establishment of relations between the two countries and at the opening of the embassy of our country in Kiev. He then said he was happy to see the first high-ranking political-economic delegation from the Islamic Republic of Iran in Ukraine. He said his government is ready to expand relations in all fields with the Islamic Republic of Iran and said that he is happy that new relations are being established. He said he is willing that such relations expand in all fields.

At the end of the meeting, the Ukraine president communicated his best wishes to Mr. Hashemi-Rafsanjani through our country's foreign minister.

Signs Protocol on Ties

LD2101231192 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2115 GMT 21 Jan 92

[By UKRINFORM correspondent]

[Text] Kiev, 21 Jan (TASS)—'Ali Akbar Velayati, Iran's minister of foreign affairs, arrived in Kiev today for a visit. He was received by Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk.

"The Ukraine is interested in profound and good relations with Iran," Leonid Kravchuk noted, after drawing attention to the fact that this visit "will facilitate the start of joint work in the interests of both peoples."

In the words of 'Ali Akbar Velayati, the Iranian Government evaluates highly the decision of the former Soviet republics to set up the Commonwealth of Independent States after the Soviet Union ceased to exist. "We want to maintain good relations with all the former republics, including Ukraine. Our countries," the minister stressed, "have great economic, scientific, and cultural potential, and we are hoping to develop our cooperation on the basis of it. Our present visit is a splendid opportunity to start this process. We are planning to open our own embassy in the Ukraine in the near future. We would also like a Ukrainian embassy to open in Tehran. An Iranian charge d'affaires to the Ukraine has come with us. He will be engaged in contacts between our countries and facilitate the opening of the embassy."

'Ali Akbar Velayati handed the president of the Ukraine a message from the president of Iran and an invitation to visit that country in the near future. Leonid Kravchuk gratefully accepted the message and the invitation. He conveyed the very best wishes to the president and people of Iran.

On the same day the Iranian minister of foreign affairs had a conversation with Konstantin Masik, firsty deputy prime minister of the Ukraine. During the frank conversation, which took place in an atmosphere of mutual understanding, issues relating to economic and scientific and technical cooperation between the two countries was discussed.

'Ali Akbar Velayati met with his Ukrainian colleague, Minister of Foreign Affairs Anatoliy Zlenko. The ministers expressed a mutual striving for the development of political and diplomatic relations between the Ukraine and Iran. 'Ali Akbar Velayati and Anatoliy Zlenko signed a protocol on the establishment of diplomatic relations between Ukraine and the Islamic Republic of Iran and a declaration on the principles and main directions in relations between the two states.

Also today, Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati and Ukrainian Economy Minister Anatoliy Minchenko signed a memorandum on mutual understanding between the Ukraine and Iran.

Kravchuk Receives DPRK Special Envoy

LD1901031992 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 0600 GMT 11 Jan 92

[Text] Ukrainian President Kravchuk has received Son Song-pil, special representative of the Government of the DPRK and the ambassador to Moscow, who was in Kiev for the signing of a communique on establishing diplomatic relations between our states. Leonid Makarovych Kravchuk expressed satisfaction with the signed document. I am convinced, he said, that the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Ukraine and the DPRK will promote the further expansion of cooperation between our countries in the political and economic and other spheres. Our peoples have many problems, to which the application of joint efforts may promote the attainment of success. In the Ukraine, he stressed, great significance is given to maintaining ties with the DPRK.

Our people warmly congratulate the people of the Ukraine on achieving independence, noted Son Song-pil. We are pleased to have signed a communique establishing diplomatic relations and we view this step as the result of our long-established friendly ties.

National Affairs

Black Sea Fleet, Government Officials Meet

PM2101105792 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Jan 92 p 1

[Report by correspondent Arkadiy Semenyaka: "Would That There Were an Allowance"]

[Text] Sevastopol—A meeting of Black Sea Fleet officers and sailors with a group of Ukrainian Supreme Soviet people's deputies and representatives of the Republic's Defense Ministry was held Friday [17 January] at the Sevastopol garrison Officers Center.

There was an exchange of opinions on the building of the Armed Forces, including the sovereign state's navy, and of social guarantees for servicemen, members of their families, and others.

The city and its inhabitants are experiencing a chronic shortage of dairy products, meat, and other foods. Additional difficulties have been caused by trade enterprises only accepting coupons for these goods; city dwellers do not have many coupons. Recently resourceful traders have drastically increased their prices and some are demanding hard currency.

Despite the difficulties, the Black Sea Fleet men are prepared to render aid to the sovereign state in forming its naval forces. During the meeting they said that they are in favor of retaining a unified Black Sea Fleet within the Commonwealth of Independent States. The Ukrainian people's deputies stated: The republic will have its own navy!

Not Worth Instability

LD1701215692 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1309 GMT 17 Jan 92

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] The Black Sea Fleet is not worth disrupting stability in the relations between Ukraine and Russia, says Deputy Chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Council Vladimir Grinev. Addressing a press conference on January 15, Grinev also said: The relations between Ukraine and Russia is a geopolitical factor of not only European, but global dimensions. There is no price to be paid for it.

He also believes Ukraine does not need an army it tries to form now. A national guard would be enough. The national military cadre, however, are being very active showing how needed they are. This is what Grinev considers as a real danger.

There are two scenarios, Grinev insists, that can lead to the military-industrial complex (MIC) remaining intact. The first is if the united forces of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] are retained and thus the army becomes a political force. The second is if the army is divided in case the states become hostile to one another.

Grinev also told the news conference that he does not believe the current Ukrainian Government is capable of implementing radical economic reforms and spoke out in favor of the cabinet's resignation. This is the destiny of any government in the time of reform, he argued.

He said the coupon system proposed by the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers is unhappy, it dampens stimulus for work, but the government is not trying to correct it. The so-called liberalization is none other than a price rise, and the government was not prepared for this move either. The respective documents had only been drafted for a few days, and before the new year, the government was very much like a not very bright student before examinations, Grinev went on.

Looking into the possible future developments, Grinev suggested the President Leonid Kravchuk will shortly call for the cabinet's resignation but in doing so he will retain present Premier Vitold Fokin and ask him to form a new government.

Morozov, Zhivitsa Comment on Armed Forces

PM2001130192 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Jan 92 Morning Edition p 3

[Viktor Litovkin report under the general heading "The Army Must Not be a Trump Card in the Political Game": "Ukrainian Defense Minister Konstantin Morozov: There is No Confrontation Between Us and Moscow"]

[Text] **What Kind of Army Does Ukraine Need**

"The Ukrainian Army," I was told in the Main Staff, "will be non-nuclear, will be based on a defensive doctrine, and will be reduced significantly by a factor of 2-3, compared with the number of troops stationed here now."

The numerical strength, structure, and arms of the Ukrainian Army and Navy still have to be confirmed by the Supreme Soviet, I was told. But a figure of 250,000-400,000 men was cited. It is already clear today that there will be no districts here; there will be operational groupings instead. There will be no strategic missions. All strategic nuclear weapons will be withdrawn from the state's territory by the end of 1994, and tactical nuclear weapons by mid-1992. The fleet will not leave the Black Sea.

It is planned that the Armed Forces will comprise three branches. The ground forces. Their largest structural unit will be the army corps. All in all, it is planned that there will be seven or eight combined arms divisions, six or seven motorized rifle and tank brigades, two or three army aviation brigades, and other support and service units: engineering, communications, intelligence, electronic warfare...

The air force. Instead of four air armies, the Ukraine will have one air force command with three aviation groupings: the West, South, and Central groupings. They will be made up of air regiments; the state will not have aviation divisions. The aviation will include bombing, fighter, and auxiliary units (military transport, reconnaissance, and electronic warfare)...

The fighter regiments will also perform air defense tasks. It is planned that the air defense units, including antiaircraft missile and radar units, will be part of the air force and together they will be called the Air Space Defense Troops.

The Ukrainian naval forces will include several brigades of ships, naval aviation, and coast defense troops (shore-based missile and artillery units, the naval infantry)...

It is not planned to have any reduced strength units in Ukraine, since officers are downgraded [teryayut boyevuyu kvalifikatsiyu] there. The army will only be involved in combat training and will only be used to fight natural disasters, if the worst comes to the worst, at the decision of the Supreme Soviet.

Rumors of a large number of tanks concentrated in the Ukraine is a myth according to Major General Georgiy Zhivitsa, acting chief of the Main Staff. They were withdrawn from its territory to the Urals in the hope that the arsenals would be reinforced by units withdrawn from Germany and Poland and 2,500 tanks.

But since the start of 1992, they are not being withdrawn to Ukraine. And there is not even enough hardware here to reach the quotas determined by the Vienna agreements—4,000 tanks. So there is nothing to sell and resell.

What Ukraine Means by Strategic Forces

The problem of strategic forces is one of the most painful problems in relations between the Ukraine and the former Ministry of Defense. Some specialists are taking this to mean only the strategic missile forces and strategic aviation. Others believe that missile systems are inconceivable without units providing for their stability. For example, the aviation and the air defense that covers them from the air and the combined arms units defending them from the ground. What is the criterion that will help resolve this dispute?

"The strategic forces in the Ukraine are determined by their status," Konstantin Morozov said. "It is nuclear weapon status. The dates of their withdrawal from our territory are clearly determined in the Minsk agreement.

"On this basis, we believe that the strategic forces should include the units and resources that will be reduced and eliminated as part of the elimination of nuclear weapons. If we include other units in the strategic forces, we are only postponing the resolution of the problem from this year to 1994.

"We believe that there are no insoluble problems between us and the former center or Russia, and there is no confrontation," the defense minister stated. "Only two working meetings have been held. The former Ministry of Defense tried to include 60 percent of all the troops stationed in the Ukraine in the strategic forces. We did not agree with them. Now the talks will be held at interstate level with the assistance of experts. I think we will resolve everything."

The Future of People in Uniform Who Are Taking the Ukrainian Oath And Those Who Are Not Taking It

"The Ukraine is the only state in the former Union where a man in uniform is protected by the law," I was told in the Main Staff. "Not by resolutions, decrees, and other ordinances, which may not have legal force, but by a package of laws that are binding on everyone without exception."

The Law on the Social and Legal Protection of Servicemen and Members of Their Families was cited by way of an example. It guarantees that servicemen enjoy all the rights of Ukrainian citizens and additional advantages as persons performing an especially important state task. No one can be released from the Army without the right to a pension or housing, unless, of course, he has been sentenced to imprisonment by a court.

"We will defend the interests of officers who are Ukrainian citizens, wherever they may be," General Zhivitsa said. "A law has been promulgated, giving an officer the opportunity to decide, in the course of this year, where he wants to serve. If he is accepted to a vacant post in Ukraine, he will have the right to an apartment. In the past few days the minister signed applications from 12 officers from the Baltic District who are being transferred to Ukraine."

But the general did not say how many officers may come to Ukraine in this manner. No one has calculated this.

"We are not forcing anyone to take the oath," the minister of defense said. "We are giving people the opportunity to work out what they want to do. If they are Ukrainian citizens, they must take the oath of allegiance to Ukraine's people. If they consider themselves to be citizens of another country and do not take the oath, they are thus raising the question of whether they should be transferred outside the Ukraine.

"We have a very calm attitude to these people; we are not taking any discriminatory measures against them and we will put right anyone who tries to put pressure on officers and men. Our approach is as follows: If an officer has housing outside the Ukraine (an apartment is the deciding factor here), then he will be transferred on the normal terms. If he does not have the possibility to sort out his problems at the moment, we will give him the opportunity to continue his service and help him to move. We will hold talks at interstate level about this. I hope that there will be a special organ for this purpose in the former Ministry of Defense Main Directorate for Cadres."

The minister said that no one would try and urge an officer in this situation to leave the Ukraine. However much time he needs to resolve his problems, that is the length of time he will serve. If the date for promotion to the next rank comes during that time, he will gain it.

"An individual is not to blame for the fact that he has found himself in this situation," the Colonel General said, "and that we cannot help him quickly. We will prevent any discrimination against him.

"Cadets are a special issue. If a guy enters an academy from Perm, Ryazan, or Gomel, for example," Morozov said, "and he does not intend to take the Ukrainian oath, we will not make a fuss either. Let him continue his training. After he graduates from the academy, he will go and serve in the state he has come from."

On the Future of the Black Sea Fleet

"There is no confrontation between us and Moscow here either, or any reason for it," the minister stated. "We have had two working meetings, and our positions have been determined. The second meeting, which was at interstate level, immediately led to compromises. We viewed the active groupings in the Ukraine on two levels: First, the troops that must be included in the strategic forces, and here we included that part of the Black Sea Fleet which has nuclear weapons in its armaments and performs strategic missions in the Mediterranean. We agreed with this.

"But they also agreed with us that the bulk of the three military districts and part of the Black Sea Fleet must be reformed and become part of the Ukrainian Armed Forces.

"I will be able to give a more specific answer as regards the future of the Black Sea Fleet only at the end of the interstate talks."

President Wants Nuclear-Free Area by 2000

LD1701185692 Moscow TASS in English 1248 GMT 17 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Aleksey Golyayev]

[Text] Rome, January 17 (TASS)—Ukraine plans to get rid of nuclear weapons deployed on its territory by the year 2000, Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk said.

In an interview with the Italian magazine EPOCA, Kravchuk said Ukraine is ready to sign an agreement on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and will call for the elimination of all nuclear warheads on its territory.

"The agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union envisages the elimination of 130 nuclear warheads in Ukraine. But we have counted 176 of them," Kravchuk said.

"We want to include another 46 warheads into the agreement and hope to get rid of the most part our nuclear weapons by 2000. I said the most part because technical problems remain. There is only one specialised centre to destroy nuclear missiles in the former Soviet Union, in the Urals," the Ukrainian leader said.

People Rush To Exchange Rubles for Coupons

PM2101151992 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Jan 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Stepan Troyan report: "Ruble Making Holes in Ukrainians' Pockets"]

[Text] What is currently happening at savings bank branches in Lvov and other Ukrainian cities seems very difficult. People have been standing in line not since 0400 or 0200 hours in the morning, but since the previous evening in order to reach the windows marked "Supervisor" and "Cashier." Everyone is rushing to get rid of their rubles as quickly as possible. Fuel was added to the fire by television appearances by several statesmen in the republic, who called on their countrymen not to hang on to the "worthless" currency in their socks and not to deal at market in rubles, but to take them to savings banks and to demand karbovanets coupons when buying goods, however shoddy.

A. Rybay, chief of the Lvov Bank for Labor Savings and Credit to the Population [Sberbank] Oblast Administration, can hardly contain himself:

"Our banks have been blockaded by customers. We have stopped accepting payment for municipal and other services, we can neither issue checks nor cash them. And that is not all: Hundreds of people who have no means of buying bread have been left without any coupons and are unable to reach the supervisor or the cashier. That is what an ill-conceived television statement by a minister or chairman of some state commission can lead to."

Currently the old currency unit—the ruble—is essentially being withdrawn from circulation in the Ukraine.

Whereas in the first 16 days of 1991 the oblast's savings banks received 9.6 million rubles [R], this year it has received R210 million in the same period. Cashiers have not even been able to count the money coming in. Many Sberbank branches are already refusing to accept money issued in 1961 and 1991. And there is another paradox: None of the Ukraine's top officials is assuming the responsibility of informing their fellow citizens about just what will happen to the people's savings—will deposits be indexed or has a course clearly been set of expropriating them?

The karbovanets coupon is today equivalent to the old ruble on the domestic market, and consequently the forerunner of a Ukrainian national currency looks very inflationary. Information has been received from reliable sources that the Ukrainian National Bank has set a different coupon-dollar rate of 10:1. What would this mean? That the obvious eventuality is unlikely, or that the unlikely eventuality is obvious? Or that an independent state will be getting a convertible currency by making utter paupers out of its own people?

Social Protection Guaranteed by Government

AU2201094692 Kiev URYADOVYY KURYER in Ukrainian No. 2 (48), Jan 92, pp 1, 2

["Resolution adopted by the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers on 1 January 1992, No. 1, on Implementing Urgent Measures To Guarantee Social Protection for the Population in Conditions of Price Liberalization"]

[Text] For the purpose of fulfilling the resolution "On the Social Protection of the Population and of the Domestic Market of the Ukraine" issued by the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Ukraine on 27 December 1991 and the Ukrainian presidential decree "On the Social Protection of the Population in Conditions of Price Liberalization" of 27 December 1991, the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers resolves as follows:

1. The Ukrainian Ministry of Finance must determine the order and sources for financing expenditure in connection with the 100 percent increase, as from 2 January 1992, of state tariffs and salaries for employees of budget-carried institutions and organizations. It must also submit, within two weeks, proposals to the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers with regard to the order and sources for financing expenditure on the increase of wages and indexation of money incomes of workers of those enterprises and organizations that sell their products (services) in accordance with state regulated prices and tariffs and, for reasons beyond their control, do not possess sufficient assets of their own.

Those state tariffs and salaries that were increased after 1 October 1991, in connection with the establishment of minimum wages of 185 rubles per month, are to be further raised.

2. Enterprises, institutions, and organizations must guarantee, in January 1992, advance payments of salaries amounting to at least 50 percent of increased tariffs and salaries; raise, as from January 1992, by 100 percent: monetary compensation for damages suffered by laborers as a result of labor accidents or other damage to their health in the performance of their duties, adjusted in accordance with the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers resolution of 31 December 1991, No. 391 "On the Adjustment of the Amount of Monetary Compensation Paid to Workers for Damages Resulting in Crippling or Other Impairment of Health in the Performance of Their Duties"; the sums of gratuity on discharge or other guaranteed payments to workers being dismissed and also sums that are being paid proceeding from the average monthly income calculated on the basis of income before 1 January 1992.

3. To determine that prior to the completion of the adjustment of the size of state pensions in accordance with part 6 of Article 19 of the Ukrainian Law "On Provision with Pensions," pensions paid in January and February 1992 will amount to twice the minimum pension established for various categories of pensioners. Subsequently, adjusted pensions will be paid on the basis of those paid in January and February 1992.

4. To determine that scholarships established in accordance with the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers resolution of 21 December 1991, No. 370 "On Additional Measures for the Social Protection of Students at Institutions of Higher Learning, Pupils of Secondary Special and Professional-Technological Schools, Postgraduates, and Doctoral Degree Candidates" must also be raised by 100 percent starting from 1 January 1992.

5. To determine that, starting from 1 January 1992, effective types of state allowances for families with children must amount to

a) triple the size of the minimum wage—one-time assistance upon the birth of every child;

b) 100 percent of the minimum wage: to take care of children until the age of three years to working mothers with a length of service of at least one year (to those women that have not yet reached the age of 18 years—irrespective of the length of service,), and also to those mothers that have discontinued work in order to study. If two or more babies are born, the allowances are paid for each child;

for children of servicemen in compulsory military service;

for children that are under guardianship (are being taken care of by persons other than their parents);

for children of single parents (widows or widowers) that used to be inmates of orphanages (boarding schools);

c) to the sum of 50 percent of the minimum wage:

to take care of children until the age of three years to those working mothers that do not have a one-year length of service. If two or more children are born, the allowance is paid for each child;

to take care of children until the age of two years to mothers that do not work. If two or more children are born, the allowance is paid for each child;

to single mothers that have children younger than 16 years (in the case of students that do not get scholarships—until 18 years);

for children up to the age of 18 years whose fathers evade alimony payment, or, in other cases provided for by the legislation, when it is impossible to exact the alimony;

for children aged between three and six years as well as for younger children in the case when the woman chooses, of her own free will, to interrupt her partially paid leave granted for taking care of the child (or has not properly registered her leave) and return to work, provided that the average total income per family member does not exceed twice the minimum wage, adjusted in accordance with the consumer price index;

d) to the amount of 35 percent of the minimum wage—for each child younger than 12 years in families with an average total income for the preceding quarter per family member of less than 62 percent of the size of the minimum wage, adjusted in accordance with the consumer price index.

If the size of allowance calculated as a percentage of the minimum wage is less than the one currently effective, the effective size of allowance remains in force.

The specified size of state allowances paid in connection with the price liberalization to families with children, will be increased by 100 percent as of 1 January 1992.

6. To raise by 100 percent, as from 1 January 1992, the size of compensation payments stipulated by paragraphs 10 and 11 of the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers resolution adopted on 28 March 1991, No. 72 "On the Social Protection of the Population in Connection With the Reform of Retail Prices (Collection of Resolutions of the Ukrainian SSR, No. 3, Article 24; No. 4, Article 31), paragraph 3 of the Ukrainian SSR Cabinet of Ministers resolution of 11 July 1991, No. 86 "On Additional Measures for Strengthening the Social Protection of the Population in Connection with the Reform of Retail Prices" (Collection of Resolutions of the Ukrainian SSR, 1991, No. 7, Article 57), the resolution adopted by the Ukrainian SSR Cabinet of Ministers resolution of 20 July 1991, No. 101 "On Additional Compensation To Be Paid to Families With Children for Expenses Arising From the Need To Purchase School Uniforms or Other Clothing for the Children" (Collection of Resolutions of the Ukrainian SSR, 1991, No. 8, Article 66).

7. To raise, as from 1 January 1992, the size of the allowance paid by the state social insurance for burial and to determine it as double the minimum wage.

8. To raise five-fold, as from 2 January 1992, the normal expenses for workers on commission, including daily expenses and housing, stipulated by the Ukrainian SSR Cabinet of Ministers resolution of 22 May 1991, No. 11, "On the Reimbursement of Expenses in Connection With Official Travel" (Collection of Resolutions, 1991, No. 5, Article 43).

9. To establish that in determining the sums of compensation for damages suffered by the worker as a result of crippling or other impairment of health in the performance of his duties and also the sums being paid to those persons that are entitled to compensation for losing the breadwinner (these payments will be ascertained after 1 January 1992), the sum of the average monthly wage for the period until 1 January 1992 will be raised by 100 percent.

10. To establish that payments fixed before 1 January 1992 in accordance with the Ukrainian SSR law "On the Employment of the Population" (Proceedings of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Council, 1991, No. 14, Article 170) be raised by 100 percent.

11. To establish that for the indexation of the population's money incomes, the consumer price index calculated in accordance with the growing index since the beginning of 1992 is to be decreased by 100 percent in connection with the forestalling increase, since 2 January 1992, by 100 percent of state tariffs, salaries, pensions, scholarships, and social payments.

The Ukrainian Ministry of Labor, Ministry of Finance, and Ministry of Statistics must introduce, by 1 February 1992, changes into the Regulations on the Procedure for Carrying out the Indexation of the Population's Money Incomes in accordance with the Ukrainian Presidential Decree "On the Social Protection of the Population in Conditions of Price Liberalization."

12. To authorize the Ukrainian Ministry of Labor, Ministry of Finance, and Ministry of Social Security to offer, if necessary, clarification on the implementation of the given resolution.

Government Told To Accept Responsibility

LD1701183292 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 0600 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Station correspondent Ivan Videnko report]

[Text] This sitting of the Ukraine's Cabinet of Ministers was convened by life itself. The situation that has taken shape in the Ukraine—the state of the economy, anarchy in introducing free prices, weak social protection of citizens, and uncertainty in the government's actions—are the things that worry the people today. Both Ukrainian Prime Minister Vitold Pavlovych Fokin and the members of the Cabinet of Ministers heard (?severe) criticism in their address. However, while the head of the government reported personally about his work, both about the last year and for the current situation, his deputies—those responsible for the main branches of the economy—did not do so, except the leader of the Ministry of Agriculture.

There is something to talk about, however. For example, why do the structural changes in the Cabinet of Ministers not bring any necessary effect? Why did the program of extraordinary measures for getting the Ukraine out of the crisis not work to the end? And at (?the end) of the last year it seemed that everything had been thought out. Naturally there are objective reasons, such as the rupture of links between manufacturers and the dictate from the side of the former Union republics. After all, however, the government is there to foresee events and predict them. The so-called price liberalization has not brought our economy closer to the market but has thrown it back from civilized methods of management. [Word indistinct] old system and departmental interests made themselves felt, forgetting about the people.

Summing up the work of the Cabinet of Ministers sitting, Ukrainian President Leonid Makarovych Kravchuk said in part:

[Begin Kravchuk recording] The Cabinet of Ministers is a lot of people—ministries, departments, and committees—but the organization of work is unsatisfactory. Therefore, I want to be understood correctly: Either the Cabinet of Ministers will take everything upon itself or it will work with the oblasts together. I feel it, too, in the organization of Supreme Soviet work. The apparatus works on the principle: We are seniors here and will do whatever we think necessary. There are many proposals, timely and interesting proposals, and people who work in the provinces simply are being ignored.

Second, we in the Cabinet of Ministers—perhaps not only in the Cabinet of Ministers—lack a competent economic service. There are things in our work which concern—(?not all) important—but they concern some details; they do not involve millions of people immediately and directly. However, there are things that concern millions of people and have a direct influence on the lives of people.

One such acute problem is pricing. It has been like this all the time, to the effect that prices were fixed by the government and not by separate subdivisions of the government. It seems we have the corresponding service in the Cabinet of Ministers. If such a problem as pricing is left without control, then we have to decide: Manufacturers themselves fix the price, and we leave it up to them, and in that case we have no responsibility for pricing; but in order for them to fix prices they need to have a private structure and independence. However, since pricing belongs to the state, the state has the responsibility.

I, in principle, cannot say that someone here spoke from their own position only. No, but a particular thought reigned—of protecting corporate interests, either those of branches or those of enterprises. I want, Vitold Pavlovych [Fokin], for such a situation to form here. If we are a state, and the enterprises have not been denationalized and privatized yet, then we will have to do this as soon as possible. Certain people also have taken advantage of the uncontrolled situation concerning the processing industry, the food industry, and the trade industry, in order to force higher prices on processed goods and the people. These people have to be held responsible, and not just rebuked.

I think the cabinet will have enough courage to put down their responsibilities after that. Otherwise we will set down responsibilities for them. [Words indistinct] because it is impossible to work like this in the future. [passage indistinct]

We need to establish order. The question of prices, the question of taxes, and others are decided by the Cabinet of Ministers with the accord of the president. We must introduce an order so that each week someone has to be on television or on radio, either the prime minister or his first deputy or someone else, including the president, to explain to the people what we are or are not doing, what are the reasons behind our actions, and what we will do tomorrow in order for people to know about this. They are waiting for our word because what we are talking about here and what we know unfortunately is not known to the people, or they know something but they do not know the full story. They are perceived not at the analytical level but on the primitive level. We have to explain the roots and the reasons properly.

I will finish the way I started: It is better to renew 70 percent of the government than to change it today entirely because the whole history of administrating and switching over to different structures shows, and I want everyone to know it, that if even a bad administration is lost, a total disintergation follows. Total! Therefore, it has to be done properly. I appeal to the prime minister to define who is who and to put a name to faces on the basis of objectivity and principles, a thorough analysis, and taking into account the consultations with the oblasts which will take place today. I wish you success. [end recording]

Transportation System Halted by Fuel Shortage

LD1701194392 Moscow TASS in English 1326 GMT 17 Jan 92

[by UKRINFORM correspondent Anatoliy Gordeyev]

[Text] Donetsk January 17 TASS—No petrol and diesel fuel was supplied to the Donetsk region of Ukraine in the past several days, bringing the local transportation system to a standstill. The region needs two thousand tonnes of fuel daily.

Talks with the Russian oil companies of Volgograd, Tyumen and Perm, as well as with the Chechen oil industry representatives, yielded no results. The Ukrainian transport companies, who lost all hope for help from the government, are sending their envoys to the oil regions of the Commonwealth in search of mutually accepted deals.

Belarus

Shushkevich on Republic, CIS Armed Forces

PM2001132792 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 17 Jan 92 pp 1, 2

[Interview with S.S. Shushkevich, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the republic of Belarus, by correspondent Colonel P. Chernenko in Minsk; date not given: "Stanislav Shushkevich: Politics for Politicians, Military Problems for the Military"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] KRASNAYA ZVEZDA regularly asks Commonwealth heads of state and parliamentarians to share their perception of questions of military building, military reform, and the future fate of troops and servicemen. On the eve of the All-Army Conference of Representatives of Officers Assemblies, Colonel P. Chernenko, our correspondent in Minsk, interviewed S. Shushkevich, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Belarus.

[Chernenko] Stanislav Stanislavovich, the republic Supreme Soviet adopted relevant decisions after examining the military question. Was everything done the way you had intended?

[Shushkevich] Even better, in my view. Let us recall what preceded this. Both in the mass media and in letters to the republics' governments, servicemen have asked and demanded that the unified Armed Forces not be destroyed. This hullabaloo—pseudopatriotism, I would say—is hardly justified. People in uniform are simply afraid of being treated badly and having their rights infringed. Our Supreme Soviet has shown everyone that it respects those who are true to the military oath sworn to the Soviet people and who want to serve in other republics. We are seeking versions of such a reorganization of the Armed Forces, so that they serve the state, not vice versa. For there is no hiding the fact that the question is being posed of the state's serving the Armed Forces and being subordinate to them.

We have taken the path of reorganizing the Armed Forces stationed on Belarussian territory. This is happening on the basis of respect for every serviceman, his patriotic feelings, his personal situation, and his understanding of social problems. Incidentally, these problems have not been created by the new authorities and the new Supreme Soviets but were simply buried deep, and officers and ensigns did not even speak of them, for it was not customary to speak of such a thing.

I will emphasize once again that the republic Supreme Soviet acted wisely in resolving military questions. This can be seen in the fact that many proposals submitted to the session by Supreme Soviet commissions underwent quite extensive correction. Documents underwent great changes. We found a compromise, particularly on the question of servicemen's taking the military oath, which suits all the sides and will not exacerbate the situation among the troops.

[Chernenko] I will, of course, convey your reply, Stanislav Stanislavovich, accurately to our readers, although I personally do not agree with everything. It is known that Belarus, like Ukraine, Azerbaijan, and Moldova, has announced the creation of its own armed forces. Is this an assertion of sovereignty or, as the saying goes, following the fashion?

[Shushkevich] Only people who are far removed from the events occurring on the territory of the former Union could assume that the creation of Belarussian armed forces is following the fashion. It is necessary to proceed from the attributes of the independent state. The army is one of its mandatory attributes. But, in announcing the creation of our own armed forces, we proceed from the premise that there are far more troops on the territory of Belarus than we propose to have. Thus, a reduction will be carried out without haste, in stages. For the time being, as the Supreme Soviet has decided, all troops stationed in the republic have been transferred to the jurisdiction of the Belarussian Council of Ministers. This, you will agree, is correct.

[Chernenko] But Kazakhstan, having declared its sovereignty, does not raise the question of creating its own army and is campaigning for joint Armed Forces...

[Shushkevich] I probably should not analyze the internal situation in sovereign Kazakhstan. But, in my opinion, the situation there is quite different and differs fundamentally from the Belarussian situation. First, there are very many bases there associated with space research, and a nuclear test site. True, it has already been closed down. In short, they are structures of all-Union importance requiring considerable capital investments. Second, there is the large territory and national peculiarities, for half of Kazakhstan's population is Russian-speaking—50-50, as the saying goes. In these conditions and in the present situation, everything points to the fact that joint Armed Forces are the most acceptable form. But we have different conditions and, thus, a different approach. There is probably nothing unnatural in this.

But I am sure that the republics will definitely want to integrate, including in the military sphere. They cannot fail to want to. But we must ensure the purity of the initial premises. A transitional stage is needed to ensure that the initial premises are worthy. During this period, as the Supreme Soviet has decided, Belarus must have its own armed forces.

[Chernenko] Stanislav Stanislavovich, it is undoubtedly a task for military people, for professionals, to determine the structures and to organize and shape the armed forces. And yet, how do you picture the future of the Belarussian armed forces?

[Shushkevich] No, spare me such a question. I have always respected the work of professionals. The Supreme Soviet has adopted a political decision and subordinated the troops stationed on Belarussian territory, except for strategic and nuclear troops, to the republic's government. We have also confirmed the powers of the commander of the Belarussian Military District, in other words we have left the old military structures. We are awaiting professional proposals on how the troops must be reorganized. It seems to me that pure civilians should not interfere in the affairs of military people. This could lead, as has already happened repeatedly in the former Union, to most unpredictable consequences.

We are in no hurry to create our own armed forces. We cannot decide in one month, three months, or maybe even a year or two the fate of officers who wish to serve in other republics. Only on the basis of a sound accord, on the basis of resolving social problems. It is possible that Russia's armed forces will also be in Belarus. I have already spoken of this. We do not need 160,000 troops. But, tell me, are Russians, Ukrainians, and Tatars serving on Belarussian soil of their own will? They are fulfilling their military duty honestly and serving honestly, and we cannot—our conscience does not permit us to—tell these people to go and serve in other republics. No, we will not say that. Such questions must be resolved on the basis of compensation and also, maybe, the organization of another state's units on our territory. Russia's, for example, if such a treaty is concluded. All military problems must be resolved amicably. All the states of the Commonwealth must participate in this process.

[Chernenko] It was stated at the conference in Minsk that the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] states were creating joint Armed Forces. Do you still advocate this, or has your opinion on this question undergone a transformation?

[Shushkevich] Let us elaborate. It was stated at the conference in Minsk that the CIS states were creating joint strategic forces and conventional Armed Forces under a joint command. Do you grasp the difference? There have been no transformations in my awareness of these problems. And there could not be any. For our parliament ratified the treaty on the CIS. We implement our policy—economic and military—proceeding from this treaty. Yes, we are creating our own armed forces. But does this really run counter to the treaty? No. It confirms the states' right to have their own armed forces.

[Chernenko] You are always very reluctant to answer questions about your reaction to the actions of a particular politician or state. And yet I would like to hear your opinion on Ukraine's actions in respect of the taking of the military oath by servicemen in units stationed on its territory and on the dismemberment of the Black Sea Fleet.

[Shushkevich] Let us start with the fact that, to use your words, I am reluctant to comment on the actions of other states' politicians. This really is so. It is simply that I always doubt whether I possess full information about the subject at issue. Without it, I might use incorrect expressions. As regards the Black Sea Fleet, it seems to me that on this question good preconditions for resolving it have become apparent in the past few days. If they had asked our opinion during the talks between Ukraine and Russia and invited our experts, we would undoubtedly have expressed it. Maybe we will do this at the talks in Moscow.

Now about the oath. To be brief, each state chooses its own version that is most acceptable to it. In Ukraine the logic of events and the results of the referendum evidently obliged the president to choose this option. Belarus cannot take this option at present. This is our future prospect, in two or three years' time. At present the oath in our republic is only being taken by those servicemen who did not take it earlier.

What makes me take this stand? I have met repeatedly with servicemen of the Belarussian Military District. I cannot doubt their devotion to the cause to which they have sworn an oath. This must be ruled out. If we were to do this, a situation similar to the Ukrainian one would take shape here too. Fortunately, the parliament has avoided these reefs.

[Chernenko] Certain Belarussian newspapers have reported that the chairman of the Belarussian Supreme Soviet will not attend the All-Army Officers Conference in Moscow...

[Shushkevich] No, I do not plan to participate in the Officers Assembly in Moscow, although I have received an official invitation. My opinion is this: Politicians must tackle politics, and military people military problems. Of course, we are delegating one of the republic's leaders to attend the assembly. I am a physicist by training, and I frequently emphasize this. Imagine that you, a military man, had been invited to a physicists' forum. I do not doubt that you would feel uncomfortable there. Let military people resolve their problems by themselves, without pressure from us politicians.

Even though I will not be at the assembly, this certainly does not mean that I am not interested in the questions that will be examined there. I will be sure to study all the materials and will consult with professionals.

Let me emphasize once again that military people must discuss their own problems themselves, in professional language.

Democrats Back 'Executive-Style Presidency'

LD2101200592 Moscow TASS in English
1920 GMT 21 Jan 92

[By BELTA correspondent Vladimir Glod]

[Text] Minsk January 21 TASS—Belarussian democrats today called for the creation of an executive-style presidency in the republic to combat a government crisis, threatening economic reforms.

The republic's parliament and government are unable to lead the nation at this difficult time, said the ruling council of the Belarussian United Democratic Party.

It said a new parliament, which would reflect the real balance of political forces, is needed.

However, widespread social apathy and fatigue could prompt a power vacuum if new elections are held now, party leaders believe. An executive-style presidency could offer a way out in this crisis, they said.

The draft new republican constitution submitted for a nationwide discussion last December provides for such a presidency. The Democratic Party believes, however, the presidency should be introduced immediately.

Supreme Soviet Adopts 1992 Budget

LD2101103192 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1300 GMT 17 Jan 92

["Domestic Market" feature]

[Text] The state budget of Belarus for 1992 adopted by the republic's Supreme Council on January 15 is 94 billion rubles [R] and has a 6 per cent deficit.

The republic's military spendings make R9 billion 1 billion is earmarked for the creation of the national currency, thaler. [sentence as received]

An extraordinary (Chernobyl) tax of 18 per cent of the wages fund has been introduced. Collective, state-owned and individual farms are exempt from this tax. The tax is expected to yield into the budget R8,440 billion. Prime Minister Vyacheslav Kebich also said he supported the idea of bringing a suit against Ukraine over the Chernobyl disaster.

Assessing the budget and taxes, the secretary of the commission for the social protection of the population with the republic's Supreme Council, People's Deputy Boris Ghiunter said: This budget is a budget of the stagnation years based on the principle of take away and divide.

Officers Threaten To Release Prisoners

LD2101235792 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2011 GMT 21 Jan 92

[By BELTA correspondent Lidiya Peresypkina]

[Text] Minsk, 21 Jan (TASS)—Officers of the oldest interior troops unit in Belarus, well known among the people as "Belpolk," have issued a demand in the form of an ultimatum for a 3-3.5 percent increase in wages and a settlement on business expenses, as well as other demands.

If the demands are not met before 1 February, the authors of the statement threaten to delare a strike at their work places, not to receive their wages, and then release in turn prisoners from general, enforced, and strict regime colonies.

In signing the statement, the officers used the "plate" method, well known in Russia's tsarist army when signatures were made in the form of a circle. In that way, they believe, it is hard to tell who was "last." Their caution proved not to be superfluous. For, as has become known, the military procuracy of Mogilev is attempting to file criminal proceedings against two officers of the Mogilev Internal Troops regiment who decided, together with their comrades, to support the demands of their Minsk colleagues and were the first to place their signatures.

Moldova

Trade Cooperation Agreement Signed With PRC

LD2201031592 Kishinev Radio Kishinev Network in Russian 0700 GMT 20 Jan 92

[Text] The visit by a government delegation from the PRC has ended with the signing of an intergovernmental agreement on trade and economic cooperation between Moldova and the PRC. The delegation was led by Liu Shanzai, Chinese assistant minister for foreign economic relations and trade.

The document notes that the sides have an interest in developing mutually advantageous ties based on conditions of equality.

In an interview with a MOLDOVAPRES correspondent, the head of the Chinese delegation said the opening of trade missions will give new momentum to cooperation.

Both sides have expressed readiness to promote the opening of joint enteprises both in Moldova and in China as well as regular exhibitions and sales of industrial goods and technology.

Assessing the accords on the states exchanging trade missions, Konstantin Tampize, Moldova's deputy prime minister and minister of national economy, stressed that in signing this agreement with the Chinese Government Moldova has, in effect, opened up the gates to Southeast Asia.

At a ceremony to mark the signing of the agreement, both sides noted that relations between all countries must be based on the principles of equal rights and should not depend on a state's size. Observance of the five basic principles for peaceful coexistence gives Moldova and China the opportunity for equal and mutually advantageous cooperation.

Snegur on Potential, Integration With Romania

LD2101223192 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2116 GMT 21 Jan 92

[By correspondent Fedor Angeli]

[Text] Kishinev, 21 Jan (TASS)—The republic of Moldova has enough human and economic potential to exist as an independent state, Moldovan President Mircea Snegur declared today in an interview with a BBC correspondent.

Addressing the question of the unification of Moldova and Romania, Mircea Snegur stressed that "their natural integration in all directions—economic, cultural, and spiritual—is capable of making up for the damage inflicted on the people by the totalitarian regime."

Demonstration Leader Rebuts 'Hooligan' Charge

PM1601152592 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 16 Jan 92 p 2

[S. Karkhanin report: "Invented Hooliganism"]

[Text] As TASS reports, the Moldovan president has sent the Russian president a telegram resolutely protesting the "attacks by hooligan elements on Moldova's permanent mission in Moscow." He described this as an act directed against friendship and cooperation between Russia and Moldova. So what actually happened that day near the building on Kuznetskiy Bridge? V. Movchan, who is one of the demonstration organizers and an activist on the Committee for Protecting Political Detainees, informs SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA:

"About 3,000 Muscovites gathered near the permanent mission in support of the Dnestr Republic and the Gagauz people. As is known, the Moldovan authorities are flouting the human rights of Russians and Gagauz, carrying out arbitrary acts, and using armed force. The recent battle with the police in the suburbs of Dubossary cost the lives of three Dnestr Republic home guardsmen. The Moldovan National Front is urgently trying to bring about the unification of the republic with Romania contrary to the interests of the inhabitants of the Left Bank of the Dnestr.

"Our demonstration was held in the yard of the permanent mission and on the street. As at a previous demonstration, held in exactly the same place, there were no incidents. People made speeches and a representative from the permanent mission was also given the chance to speak; he then answered some questions. Nobody provoked the militia, who, incidentally, were stationed in the vicinity; there was simply no cause to provoke them. Then everyone dispersed in an organized manner.

"It is hard to understand what M. Snegur has in mind when he speaks of 'a hooligan attack.'"

Ukraine Coupon System Floods Domestic Market

OW1901190692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1345 GMT 18 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Following the introduction of coupons in Ukraine masses of roubles have been flooding Moldova's domestic market.

Ukrainians go to Moldova to buy any kinds of goods for roubles (which are of no use to them now), including bread, which they probably use as cattle fodder. The first influxes of roubles emptied the shops in some towns and villages in the Dnestr area. According to some estimates, prices at collective-farm markets there have in the past two or three days gone up by an average of 20-25%.

Authorities in the Dnestr area are trying to impose various kinds of restrictions on sales. In particular, shop assistants now have to check their customers' passports, for they are not allowed to sell anything to anyone living outside Moldova.

Moldovan experts believe the republic was quite unprepared for the "rouble intervention".

Armed Guardsmen Attack Railway Station

LD2101122892 Kishinev Radio Kishinev Network in Russian 0700 GMT 21 Jan 92

[Text] MOLDOVAPRES reports that in Bendery, on the orders of Igor Smirnov, president of the so-called Pridnestrovskaya Moldavskaya Republic [Dnestr Republic], around 60 armed guardsmen have carried out another bandit attack on Varnitsa railway station. They attacked a special train carrying vehicles intended for a unit of troops stationed in the former Bendery fort. Forty-one military transport vehicles each valued at 350,000 rubles were seized.

According to eyewitness accounts, the incident took place before the eyes of Soviet army officers who did nothing to save their property.

Moldovan, Dnestr Region Leaders Hold Meeting

OW2001120092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1026 GMT 20 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Experts view Saturday's [18 January] meeting between the leaders of the biggest facilities of the Dnestr region with Moldova's prime minister Valeriu Muravskiy as "an important step toward normalizing bilteral relations". The talks were held behind closed doors. IF's [INTERFAX] correspondent learned however that they involved price liberalization, the upcoming privatization of state property, introduction of national monetary unit and a common strategy of actions. A participant in the meeting said that the two sides managed to dismantle the image of enemy created toward each other by Kishinev and the Dnestr region.

Helsinki Federation Team Meets Dnestrians

AU2101175992 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1203 GMT 21 Jan 92

[Text] Chisinau [Kishinev] ROMPRES, 21/1/1992—The delegation of the "Helsinki" International Federation for Human Rights went on January 20 to Tiraspol where, in keeping with the schedule previously agreed upon, met with the separatist leaders of Transdnestria, MOLDOVA PRES reports.

No representative of republican or international mass media and no parliamentarian of the republic of Moldova were admitted to attend the talks. The same happened when the international experts met with the leaders of the armed forces deployed in that area and with the Cossack volunteers who came to Tiraspol "to defend the young Dnestr Republic and the borders of the old Russian empire."

In the meantime a group of 24 women came from Ribnita to the building of the Tiraspol executive committee where the meeting was taking place. The members of the "Women's Guard," as they introduced themselves to the MOLDOVA PRES correspondent, were admitted to the meeting with the "Helsinki" delegation. The members wanted to give a petition calling for the release of the guardists arrested by the Moldovan police during the armed conflict of last December and the recognition of the Dnestr Republic.

Adviser Warns Dnestr May Trigger 'New Coup'

OW1701143992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1203 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] V. Darie, an adviser to the President of Moldova, stated in an interview with an "IF" [INTERFAX] correspondent that the Dnestr region may become "a detonator of the beginning of a new coup, aimed against the independent states and most particularly against Moldova and Ukraine."

Mr. Darie thinks that certain chauvanistic forces not only in Tiraspol but in Moscow as well "will attempt despairingly, having played their Dnestr region card, to maintain a unity of Russian space on the territory of the former USSR."

The state adviser noted that considering the specifications of the Dnestr region, where 40 percent of the population are Moldovans, 28 percent Ukrainians and only slightly more than 20 percent are Russians, the former center decided in its time to use this region to hold Moldova in its orbit.

The meeting of Moldovan President Mircea Snegur on the left bank and the results of his elections show, according to Mr. Darie, that "the basic mass of the the Russian speaking population in the Dnestr region sees the defenders of their interests not in those political adventurists in Tiraspol, but in the constitutional authority of Moldova."

Dnestr Legislation Contradicts Constitution

LD1901040592 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2221 GMT 15 Jan 92

[By correspondent Fedor Angeli]

[Text] Kishinev, 16 Jan (TASS)—In the Dnestr Republic, which has been recognized by the parliament of Moldova as unconstitutional, they are continuing to adopt legislation that is in contradiction to the Constitution of Moldova. Here laws have been brought into force "On the Defense of the Dnestr Republic," "On the Armed Forces," "On Universal Military Service and Serving in the Army in the Dnestr Republic."

The Army units stationed on the territory of the Dnestr Republic will be preserved in their former structures; they will be financed from that republic's budget. It is envisaged that officers and warrant officers should be transferred to military service on contract. The monetary allowance will thereby be considerably increased.

Weapons Bound for Kishinev Intercepted

LD2001093792 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 1 Jan 92

[S. Fateyev video report; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] An incident that just failed to lead to a fresh armed conflict occurred today in the Dnestr Republic.

Under cover of very thick fog, officers and cadets from a training center, who had recently taken the oath of the Republic of Moldova, were trying to remove this modern weaponry—almost 400 automatic weapons and machineguns, and a large amount of ammunition—covertly by a road from the territory of the Dnestr Republic in the direction of Kishinev. The convoy was stopped by representatives of the Dnestr Republican Guard, who were joined by reinforcements brought from Tiraspol and Dubossar.

The high level of tension that arose was defused by the restrained and courteous behavior of the guards—it was pure good fortune that none of these people with guns in their hands opened fire. After two hours of talks, all the weaponry was confiscated by the Dnestr guardsmen, and the cadets were sent back to their unit.

This took place on the day when another meeting of the conciliation commission consisting of members of the governments of Moldova and the Dnestr Republic was due to take place, and when a glimmer of light had appeared for the resolution of the most complex problems between the two republics.

Kazakhstan

Nazarbayev Statement on SS-19 Missile Launch

LD2101225392 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2035 GMT 21 Jan 92

[By KAZTAG correspondent Gennadiy Kulagin]

[Text] Alma-Ata, 21 Jan (TASS)—The Kazakhstan president's press service distributed a statement here today in connection with the report published in IZVESTIYA about the alleged launching from the territory of the republic of an SS-19 ballistic missile.

"On 20 December 1991 at Baykonur cosmodrome," it says, "a Rokot space rocket was launched. This was undertaken for scientific purposes under the conversion program. Consequently, reports about the testing of a ballistic missile for military purposes is not in accord with reality.

"Because no mutually acceptable approaches have been worked out among the Commonwealth of Independent States members regarding the Armed Forces, including the use of the space testing facility, and because on 20 December 1991 no final decision yet existed on forming the Commonwealth, it is unnecessary to dramatize each instance of test launches of space technology," the statement stresses. "At the same time, Kazakhstan is aware that questions of the control of the former USSR's nuclear potential have indeed come to a head. However, they should be resolved without confrontation with the space and defense departments in a process of negotiations and of adopting mutually acceptable agreements.

"The position of Kazakhstan President Nursultan Nazarbayev on military questions and the use of space technology is well known. It is this: preservation of the joint Armed Forces, control of nuclear weapons from a single center, dual subordination of general purpose forces, use of the Baykonur cosmodrome and the Kurchatov scientific center for the common benefit of all states of the Commonwealth. All of these questions must be resolved stage by stage and without haste in order to prevent chaos and disorder in the process [words indistinct].

The Kazakhstan president's press service considers it "inadmissable for any form of pressure to be brought to bear against an independent state, including on this question, such as can be clearly seen in certain press reports both abroad and within the Commonwealth."

Restrictions Lifted on Food Exports to Russia

LD2101140192 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1200 GMT 21 Jan 92

[Text] In accordance with a ruling by the Kazakhstan Cabinet of Ministers, customs departments are being established in the republic's oblasts and equipped with transportation and automatic weapons. Meanwhile, the president of Kazakhstan has lifted restrictions on the export of foodstuffs from Kazakhstan to Russia.

Minister on Earning Money From Oil, Gas Sales

OW2001000992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1655 GMT 19 Jan 92

[From the Soviet "Business Report"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In a speech at an international meeting in Alma-Ata, Kazakhstan's Minister of Foreign Economic Relations, Syzdyk Abyshev, announced that his republic was looking to the production and sale of oil and natural gas as its principle source of hard currency income.

Mr. Abyshev reported that the republic's government was studying bids submitted by British Gas, British Petroleum, and the Italian company ENI for the development of Karachiganask oil and gas fields in northern Kazakhstan. According to the minister, the republic and the French firm Elf Aquitaine have worked out a contract for the exploitation of oil and natural gas fields in the Aktiubinskii region. Also, international oil companies are very interested in the possibility of working the Caspian Sea shelf.

Contracts Signed for Oil, Grain Development

OW2001211592 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1844 GMT 20 Jan 92

[From the "Soviet Business Report"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Contracts amounting to $1.5 billion were signed at the republican conference on problems of foreign economic activity and exhibits of Kazakhstan's export goods on January 15 and 16 in Alma-Ata, the capital of Kazakhstan. Representatives of 52 countries took part in the conference. Specifically, a credit agreement as signed between representatives of Kazakhstan and the English firm British Gas, a potential oil refiner on Kazakhstan's oil fields. An agreement as signed for English manufacturers to provide Kazakhstan with credit amounting to $100 million over five years at 6.5 yearly interest. The credit is earmarked for the purchase of fodder grain.

Nazarbayev Promises Privileges to Businessmen

LD2101121692 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 21 Jan 92

[Text] At a conference on foreign economic activity in Alma-Ata, which foreign firms were invited to attend, it emerged that 120 foreign firms and companies want to invest in the economy of Kazakhstan. One of them, British Petroleum, announced it would like to take a share in the development of oil deposits. Meeting foreign businessmen, Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev promised duty and tax privileges. He invited them to work with his personal representatives, governors, and aides in different parts of the republic.

Official on Recognition, Nuclear-Free Goals

OW2001223592 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1820 GMT 20 Jan 92

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] As Chairman of the Kazakh Supreme Council Serikbolsyn Abdildin told a news conference in Alma-Ata Monday [20 January], 61 countries of the world have recognized Kazakhstan as an independent state.

Asked by IF's [INTERFAX] correspondent about the possibility of selling nuclear weapons and techniques, Abdildin confirmed the Kazakh leadership's position that "neither now nor in the future the republic will do that." Abdildin stated that Kazakhstan is willing to be a nuclear-free country, but "that will take a lot of time."

Despite an 8 billion budget deficit Kazakhstan earmarks 20 billion rubles for maintaining the army and "in 1992 will finance the army of the Commonwealth."

Speaking about price liberalization, Abdildin said that the Supreme Council had estimated the cost of consumer goods basket in January at 436 rubles per capita with further indexation of incomes.

Soldiers Banned From Settling Ethnic Conflicts

OW1901184392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1345 GMT 18 Jan 92

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] On Saturday [18 January], the parliament of Kazakhstan put a ban on the involvement of Kazakh servicemen in settling ethnic conflicts. It also decided that within a month, the Kazakh servicemen would be called back from the garrisons in the states which do not belong to the Commonwealth.

Later on Saturday, the parliament is expected to adopt the law on the new national flag of the republic of Kazakhstan which will be azure and bear the pictures of an eight-pointed star, of the "shanaryk" (the top of the Kazakh nomads' traditional dwelling, "yurta") and of the crescent.

Former Communists Oppose Separate Armies

LD2001162892 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1125 GMT 16 Jan 92

[By KAZTAG-TASS correspondent Vladimir Akimov]

[Text] Alma-Ata, 16 Jan (TASS)—The Political Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of Kazakhstan, which is the republic's sole successor to the former Communist Party, issued a statement today in which it roundly condemned attempts to break up the joint Armed Forces. The attempts being made by leaders of certain former Union republics to undermine the Minsk agreements "are greatly reducing the security of each member of the Commonwealth and threatening international and regional stability," the statement says.

Furthermore, "the hasty partition of central Army assets raises a multitude of controversial issues and inevitably increases tension in relations between sovereign states, something which is already being observed in the traditionally fraternal ties between the Ukraine and Russia. This is creating real conditions for an escalation of interethnic conflicts and their transformation from accidental clashes into full-scale hostilities involving the most up-to-date weaponry."

In addition, the statement stresses: "Republican armies will cost far more to run than a joint army—a factor that will exacerbate the economic crisis in the Commonwealth member states and worsen the prospects for ending the crisis. They will be an additional burden on the shoulders of the working people. Hasty moves toward the elimination of a single army expose servicemen to social vulnerability, place them in a desperate situation, and turn them into an explosive force."

Eleven Mines End Strike After Talks

LD2101205992 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 21 Jan 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Eleven mines in Kazakhstan resumed work today after talks with the government. I will remind you that the miners were demanding that wages should be paid on time. They had not been paid since November. In the Kuzbass the wages' problem has not yet been resolved. Talks are in progress in the Donbass. In the Rostov coal basin the strike has actually started. This information was reported to us today at the Confederation of Coal Industry Trade Unions.

China Signs Agreement on Explosives Factory

LD2001160592 Alma-Ata Kazakh Radio Network in Kazakh 1000 GMT 16 Jan 92

[Summary] The Leninogorsk polymetallic combine production association has concluded a contract with a PRC firm on the construction at (Chishinskiy) mine of an emulsin [as heard] explosives plant. Builders from China will hand over the works in 1993. Explosives are needed for the mining industry.

Kyrgyzstan

State Committee for Defense Affairs Formed

PM2001135992 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 17 Jan 92 p 3

["Our correspondent" report under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Kyrgyzstan Also Has Its Own National Guards. Their Uniform Has Already Been Sewn"]

[Text] Bishkek—Colonel Zh. Nogoybayev, deputy national security adviser to the Kyrgyzstan president, has announced that a State Committee for Defense Affairs was formed in the republic 13 January. Appointments to the leading posts have not yet been made.

Formation of a National Guard is under way in the republic. Volunteers of various nationalities are joining its ranks. There will be some 800 men in all. Currently designers are working on models of a special uniform for the national guards.

The Kyrgyzstan Republic National Guard will ensure the defense of the constitutional system and the security of the president and state facilities and will participate in eliminating the consequences of natural disasters and accidents. It is especially stressed that "maintenance of order" does not figure among the national guards duties.

Presidential Adviser on Organizing Military

LD2101005692 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1300 GMT 18 Jan 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] In the sovereign republics, the process of forming national guards is continuing. A report from Bishkek:

[Correspondent V. Fedorov] Kyrgyzstan does not intend to have an army, and it is not just that today it simply cannot afford it. It is believed here that unified armed forces with a united command is the most optimum way of ensuring the republic's safety.

[K.K. Oruzbayev, adviser to the Kyrgyzstan president] The right to create its own armed forces is the inalienable right of any sovereign state and of course one cannot dispute this. But the pace or the method by which this is being done today, it seems to us, is fundamentally somewhat incompetent. The armed forces were created by the efforts of several generations of Soviet people now living in different states. This is a fact that must be taken into account. But, it is necessary to take into account the view of those who serve in the armed forces, namely the officers, to realize what will happen to them and their families.

[Fedorov] The republic guarantees the solution of the material and legal problems of the officers and of their families and is not in a hurry with the new oath. It will be taken by recruits from the spring draft onward. The Minsk version of the text is acceptable. Officers who have expressed the wish to return to Kyrgyzstan from other states of the Commonwealth may continue their service in the National Guard.

Agricultural Committees To Assist Land Reform

LD2201045692 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 21 Jan 92

[Text] Agricultural committees are being set up in the Central Asian republic of Kyrgyzstan. President Askar Akayev has provided them with extensive powers, and they are expected to boost the land reform. The committees will eliminate loss-making collective and state farms and promote the all-round development of farming. Land will be given free to all those who wish to be a farmer. According to observers, this is a new, decisive attempt by President Akayev to attain the market reform in agriculture. Earlier the opposition used to hamper the process by blocking in parliament many radical laws. Now the problem is that the local authorities show lack of action or plain sabotage [in] implementing decisions on transferring the economy to a market.

Presidium Rejects Referendum on Parliament

LD2001164292 Bishkek Radio Bishkek Network in Russian 1400 GMT 16 Jan 92

[Text] On 15 January at the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the republic of Kyrgyzstan, there was a conference in which members of the Presidium and senior government officials participated. They discussed issues connected with the holding of the second stage of the eighth session. The Presidium members again confirmed their attitude to the lowering of prices on basic foodstuffs, as expressed at the Supreme Soviet Presidium meeting with government members on 11 January.

It was said that recently a number of parties and movements such as Ashar, Asaba, and others are insistently raising the question of holding a nationwide referendum on the dissolution of parliament and the holding of new elections of people's deputies for the republic of Kyrgyzstan. Presidium members noted that this must happen in a constitutional way. Moreover, under the present extremely complex situation for the state in the economic and financial sense, the holding of a referendum is not advisable.

Views Prices, Gas Supply, Money

LD2101114192 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0600 GMT 21 Jan 92

[By Talant Dzhumabayev in Bishkek]

[Excerpts] At a conference held by the Presidium of the Kyrgyz Supreme Soviet last week, members expressed the view that it is necessary to cut prices for a number of foodstuffs. [passage omitted] The cabinet of ministers decided to introduce compensatory payments to the sum of 50 rubles for pensioners, invalids, and students for dairy products and bread. The situation is grave in some rayons and towns, because of the shortage of gasoline. Public transport is about to come to a halt.

As for the money supply, there is no problem here. It has become known that Russia is to supply Kyrgyzstan with banknotes to the value of 2.5 billion rubles. This is quite significant aid. [passage omitted]

Special means of payment for purchasing state and communal property are being introduced in the republic. This is a specific step in implementing Akayev's policy of destatification and privatization. Akayev issued a decree on setting up rural committees to implement the land reform. The government held a series of meetings with entrepreneurs at which ministers said they relied upon businessmen to assist in extricating the republican economy from crisis and providing the population with foodstuffs and goods. [passage omitted]

Turkmenia

Government 'Considerably' Lowers Food Prices

LD1701214392 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1300 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Text] Prices for flour, bakery products, noodles, dairy products, and some other food items have been considerably lowered in Turkmenistan. At a meeting that took place in President Niyazov's office, leaders of the ministries and departments responsible for price formations were told about the impermissibility of raising food prices more than three-fold over last year.

Republic To Exchange Embassies With Iran

OW2001183692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1615 GMT 20 Jan 92

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] Turkmenistan's Foreign Minister Avdy Kuliyev told IF's [INTERFAX] correspondent that Turkmenistan and Iran are to exchange embassies in the near future. The exact date has not yet been set due to "the remaining technical problems"—the choice of a building, financing, etc. According to Kuliyev, the Iranian side has already found a building in Ashkhabad. He also said Turkmenistan has not yet put forward a candidate for the post of its ambassador to Iran.

Second Border Crossing Point With Iran Opens

LD2001184692 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1200 GMt 19 Jan 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Excerpt] A report from Ashkhabad: One more, the second, simplified border crossing point on the Turkmenistan-Iran border has been opened.

This means that people living in the Caspian zone on either side of the border, not more than 45 kilometers from it, can now visit 4 times a year and stay with each other for up to 15 days each trip. The need to process documents through the diplomatic services has been eliminated. It is sufficient to have a special insert in the normal passport. [passage omitted]

Iran, Afghanistan To Pay for Electricity

LD2101040392 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1042 GMT 20 Jan 92

[Text] Ashkhabad, 20 Jan (TASS)—The export of electricity to its southern neighbors will soon become a substantial source of foreign currency for Turkmenistan. Interest in cooperation in the sphere of the power industry has been shown by specialists and experts from Iran who visited the republic. A business trip to Mary GRES [state regional electric power station] ended with the signing of a protocol of intent. The Turkmen power men have submitted a plan for the supply of electricity to the border province of Khorasan in northeastern Iran. If the project goes ahead, a 500-kilovolt power transmission line will be built from Mary GRES, via which the station will be able to supply up to 5 billion kilowatts/hour of power to Iran annually.

There is also an acute shortage of electricity in the northern provinces of Afghanistan: Herat and Badgiz. Under an agreement between representatives of these provinces and the management of Turkmenistan's power system, power lines will shortly be laid to the border and will supply current to the northern Afghan power grids.

Construction Begins on Rail Link With Iran

PM2001155592 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1600 GMT 16 Jan 92

["Novosti" newscast report by K. Babayev and B. Atayev]

[Text] [Announcer] The first sections of a future 140 km railroad that will link the Central Asian main railroad with neighboring Iran have been laid near Parakhat [as heard] station in Turkmenistan.

[Babayev] The idea of the need for such a railroad has been around for a long time, but it was only after a series of talks with the Iranian side, which were interrupted for several years at a time, that the idea finally was acted on.

According to current estimates, the construction work will cost about $2 billion. If Turkmenistan had proceeded only on the basis of its existing relatively small trade turnover with Iran, it would never have agreed to such costs. For a long time there has been a motor highway between the two states, and tomorrow another will be opened near Kzyl-Atrek. But the 140-km stretch along which the railroad will pass is a kind of isthmus of Panama dividing two huge regions rather than oceans: Asia and the Near East on the one hand and the states of the Commonwealth, China, and Japan on the other. This railroad means access for everybody to the Persian

Gulf—in other words, to world markets. So sovereign Turkmenistan is counting on earning foreign currency from its stretch of track.

It is still not known who will lay the railroad on Iranian territory—the Iranians themselves or our construction workers. So far only the deadlines have been agreed. The railroad on our side as far as the state border must be laid within two and a half to three years, as stipulated by Iran.

Uzbekistan

Further Reportage on Tashkent Student Unrest

Karimov Warns of 'Second Fergana'

*PM2101161592 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
21 Jan 92 p 6*

[Adilbek Kaipbergenov report under general heading: "Political Games Are Not for Students"]

[Text] Tashkent—On 19 January the president of Uzbekistan met with representatives of the Tashkent public. The main topic was the student disturbances on the higher education campus on 16 January. At the proposal of Islam Karimov, those attending the meeting honored with a minute's silence the memory of Sanzhar Boradzhabov, the 21-year-old student of the local technical university who was tragically killed.

Offering an analysis of the situation that developed, the president dwelt on the causes and consequences. In particular, the tragedy had been prepared in advance. Its organizers, "people in expensive hats and clothes," stood behind the backs of the young people and provoked them into lawless actions. They had far-reaching political aims and careerist aspirations. It is no accident that the economic demands quickly gave way to political demands: the resignation of the government, the president, and parliament. At the same time, I. Karimov rejected suspicions of incitement regarding the officially registered opposition: both parties and movements. This includes suspicions regarding his rival in the recent presidential elections—Muhammad Solikh, leader of the Erk democratic party.

In the opinion of the head of the republic, the organizers acted according to the tried-and-tested "Fergana scenario," in which the first casualty provoked disorders throughout the oblast. "Uzbekistan cannot stand a 'second Fergana,'" I. Karimov stressed and appealed to his compatriots for calm and good sense, repeating these words in Russian as well.

All kinds of rumors and conjectures have been circulating in Tashkent since the tragedy. At my request Shavkat Karimov, the republic's minister of health, clarified matters:

"Immediately after the tragic events, 94 people sought help from medical institutions, and 33 of them were hospitalized. As of the morning of 20 January, 13 remained in the hospital. I think that the numbers in hospital will decrease today after doctors' rounds and consultations. The state of health of one student, who is in intensive care, is of particular concern. The rest, we hope, will soon be discharged."

Uzbekistan Internal Affairs Minister Zakirzhon Almatov categorically rejected as groundless and provocative the "version" energetically circulated by certain persons, which alleges that a Russian OMON [special purpose militia detachment] was operating 16 January. Subunits of the republic Ministry of Internal Affairs were on the campus that day. The prosecutor's office is assessing the lawfulness of their actions.

Prime Minister on Students' Demands

*LD2101174392 Tashkent Radio Tashkent Network
in Uzbek 0300 GMT 19 Jan 92*

[Interview with Abdulhashim Mutalov, prime minister of Uzbekistan and chairman of the recently formed republican commission to investigate unrest, by correspondent Akbardzhon Surodzhudinnov on 18 January; place not given—recorded]

[Summary From Poor Reception] [Mutalov] "The commission's basic task is to investigate all the incidents which have occurred, draw conclusions, bring the guilty to justice, normalize the situation, calm the people, and immediately meet their demands."

[Surodzhudinnov] "There are 10 demands from the students. The main demands are to free unjustly imprisoned students and to increase grants by at least 500 rubles. There are others. Could these demands be met?"

[Mutalov] "Immediately. We are fully convinced on this issue." As for the grants, "it is necessary to say, in regard to the students' demand for increased grants, that work will be done in this area. These proposals are currently being studied, and this problem will be tackled in the near future."

Foreign Ministry Criticizes Coverage

*LD2201123292 Moscow TASS in English
0920 GMT 22 Jan 92*

[Text] Tashkent January 22 UZTAG-TASS—The Uzbek Foreign Ministry accused a number of news organisations, both foreign and of the former Soviet republics, of tendentious coverage of disturbances in Tashkent on January 16.

A statement of the Uzbek Foreign Ministry published on Wednesday [22 January] says that some publications and radio and TV broadcasts distort the causes of protests and unobjectively present actions of law enforcement bodies, passing in silence the actual steps to normalise the situation.

The Foreign Ministry believes this is caused by the fact that "certain circles wish to call in question the process of democratisation in the republic and to cause distrust for measures of the republic's leadership aimed at stabilising the situation and protecting the interests of the people during the transfer to the market economy". The Foreign Ministry believes such publications pursue the aim of "destabilising the domestic situation and undermining Uzbekistan's international prestige".

The statement says the Foreign Ministry deplores the fact that "some foreign media were influenced by irresponsible publications of IZVESTIYA, broadcasts of Mayak radio station and items of some other news organisations".

Students To Investigate Clashes

LD2101140392 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1200 GMT 21 Jan 92

[Text] Uzbek student leaders have announced that they will hold their own investigation into last week's incidents during which, they say, 21 people were killed. This is reported by INTERFAX.

According to the official figures, however, two died during the clashes in Tashkent between security forces and students protesting against price rises. The republican leadership has claimed that the disturbances were provoked by elements seeking to destabilize the situation in the republic.

Social Protection Measures Introduced

LD2201094592 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0710 GMT 22 Jan 92

[By UZTAG correspondent Vladimir Pruger]

[Text] Tashkent, 22 Jan (TASS)—The sharp reaction of Tashkent students to the liberalization of prices has prompted the Cabinet of Ministers under the president of Uzbekistan to adopt additional measures on the social protection of the population. The government's resolution on organizing subsidized meals for students and young people studying at educational establishments, single pensioners, and working people was published today.

According to the resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers, the amount of compensation for a single meal for day students of higher educational establishments, students of technical colleges and vocational schools, if they are not on the state security provision, has been increased by up to five rubles. These measures will also apply to lecturers and staff of educational establishments.

The cost of free lunches in infant classes will increase fourfold. Lunches in canteens and snack bars for students and schoolchildren will have a 50 percent discount per person. This measure will be financed from profits of commercial shops and shops selling on commission.

Single pensioners who require outside care retain their former privileges: they enjoy free rent and communal services, free use of public transport (excluding taxi), and receive rationed foodstuffs and medicines on doctors' prescription free of charge. Meat—1 kg a month—is also included in a list of free foodstuffs.

The resolution has also established a number of concessions for meals in canteens and snack bars of budgetary organizations and production enterprises.

Arms Smugglers Arrested on Tashkent Train

LD2201122792 Tashkent Radio Tashkent Network in Uzbek 0300 GMT 22 Jan 92

[Report from the Uzbekistan News Directorate]

[Text] During a news conference on the student unrest in Tashkent, Uzbek President Karimov talked of the possibility of these events having been (?premeditated) outside. He expressed the view [words indistinct] to smuggling arms in to the territory of the republic. We approached the Uzbek Ministry for Internal Affairs. Deputy Minister Rustam Haidarov on the (?evening) of 21 January reported the arrest of two persons on the 22d train to Tashkent and the confiscation from the two of 98 combat grenades with fuses, 1,280 cartridges, two [words indistinct], and drugs. Investigations are being carried out into the identity of the two persons and their aim in coming here.

Karakalpakistan Given Republic Status

LD1801221192 Tashkent Radio Tashkent Network in Uzbek 0300 GMT 11 Jan 92

[Text] The former Karakalpakistan Autonomous Socialist Republic has now been renamed the Republic of Karakalpakistan. The Supreme Soviet adopted such a decree. The deputies also adopted laws on foreign economic activities, on historical (?monuments), the mass media, enterprises, business, specific economic zones, [words indistinct], religious organizations, [words indistinct].

Amendments and additions were made to the constitution of the republic. Proposals were made on the introduction of presidential rule. This question and other necessary questions associated with this will be examined at the next scheduled session.

Supreme Soviet Ends Extraordinary Session

LD1801052792 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0647 GMT 15 Jan 92

[By unidentified UZTAG correspondent]

[Text] Tashkent, 15 Jan (TASS)—The extraordinary session of the Uzbekistan Supreme Soviet finished work here yesterday evening. The concluding day of its second stage was devoted mainly to economic problems. Deputies discussed the basic parameters for the setting of the republic's budget for 1992 and problems connected with the forthcoming liberalization of prices. Amendments and additions were submitted to laws on the taxation of enterprises, associations, and organizations and on income tax for citizens of Uzbekistan, foreign citizens, and individuals without citizenship. A law on liability for violating procedures in the export of goods and material valuables beyond the boundaries of the republic was also adopted.

Parliamentarians also discussed a number of issues related to Uzbekistan's activities in the international arena and adopted a republican law on the procedure for the recall of people's deputies.

Armenia

Two Former Soviet Officers Taken Hostage

NC2201100392 Paris AFP in English 0951 GMT 22 Jan 92

[All names as received]

[Text] Moscow, Jan 22 (AFP)—Two senior officers of the former Soviet military were taken hostage Tuesday [21 January] at Yerevan Airport in Armenia by Armenians opposed to their decision to remove 14 combat helicopters from the republic, a military spokesman said Wednesday [22 January].

General Valeriy Patrikyev, commander in chief of the Caucasus military region, was quickly released but his assistant, only identified as Lieutenant Mecherikov, was still a hostage, Interfax news agency reported quoting the spokesman for the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) military.

INTERFAX did not say if the Mi-24 helicopters are still to be transferred.

Commission Denounces Azerbaijan Train Seizure

OW2101182392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1607 GMT 21 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Human Rights and Ethnic Affairs Commission of the Armenian parliament has urged the Commonwealth of Independent States and the entire international community to "refrain from recognizing the independence of Azerbaijan until the latter releases all captives, punishes those responsible and guarantees the non-repetition of such actions in the future." The commission's appeal follows the seizure on Azeri territory on January 12 of 20 Armenians from a train going from Tbilisi to Moscow. IF [INTERFAX] has failed to get the Azeri side to confirm the seizure of passengers.

The appeal urges the states that have already announced their recognition of Azerbaijan's independence to facilitate the release of the hostages.

Electricity, Heat Supply Situation Deteriorates

PM2201094992 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 17 Jan 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast: Report by V. Nazaryan]

[Text] We wanted to show you this reportage yesterday, but the area where our office is located was subject to an all-day power cut and we were unable to put the report together.

As a result of a drastic reduction in the deliveries of gas and heating oil, which were already catastrophically scarce, the electricity and heat supply situation in Armenia has deteriorated further. Electricity for lighting purposes is supplied for only six hours per day, and in rural areas for only four hours. Enterprises are at a complete standstill. Power is being supplied only to bakeries, hospitals, and a number of other essential life-support facilities. Even kindergartens have been closed. Schools have been closed for more than a month. The situation is critical. It is therefore no accident that a new ministry has been set up in Armenia in these circumstances—the Ministry of the Power Industry and Fuel. This key department is headed by one of our compatriots, U.S. citizen Sepuch Tashchan [as heard], appointed by a decree of the president. He, for one, is convinced that the energy crisis is surmountable, and what is more, in the near future.

Government Seeks Fuel From Iran, Turkey

NC1901124292 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1930 GMT 18 Jan 92

[Text] Vice President and Prime Minister Gagik Arutyunyan held a news conference on 16 January on the current socioeconomic situation during the energy crisis and measures being taken to improve matters.

Arutyunyan said the current crisis in the Republic has worsened to the point of catastrophe in the energy sphere. If the power stations further reduce their output, there may not be any power at all.

In speaking about ways to surmount the crisis, the prime minister noted that the Republic's government is trying to sign separate agreements with different countries and establish partnerships to eliminate the existing dependency. There also are talks with Iran and Turkey to solve the energy problem. The deputy prime minister probably will visit Turkey in the near future for talks.

In replying to questions about the socioeconomic situation, Arutyunyan called on the people to try to understand the existing situation and not panic.

President's Meeting With Swiss Envoy Reported

NC1801200692 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1630 GMT 15 Jan 92

[Text] Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan today met Switzerland's ambassador in Moscow, Jean-Pierre Ritter, who is visiting Armenia to carry out talks on the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries.

In opening the meeting, Ter-Petrosyan noted with satisfaction that Switzerland was among the first countries to recognize Armenian sovereignty and independence, attributing this to the fact that Switzerland seriously studied the political processes which took place in the final phase of the former Soviet Union.

Ter-Petrosyan added that it is difficult for Armenia, which is taking its first steps in the international scene, to enter into formal relations with all countries by opening embassies and representations. He noted, however, that Armenia's interest in Switzerland is enormous regarding the establishment of close ties due to Switzerland's special position in Europe and by the existence of an Armenian community there

The humanitarian aid donated by the Swiss Government, the Armenian community there and other various organizations was very much appreciated here, the president noted.

Armenia views Armenian communities in other countries first as citizens of that country under the obligation to fulfill their citizenship duties towards that state, he continued. Armenia's ties with Armenian communities in other nations will be basically humanitarian and cultural in nature, he continued adding: This issue will be further clarified when the citizenship law is adopted in Armenia. While the government is considering granting dual citizenship to Armenians worldwide, it will enter into separate arrangements with each country regarding granting Armenian citizenship to citizens of these countries.

At the request of the guest, Levon Ter-Petrosyan also discussed the Nagorno-Karabakh problem, stressing the need to establish a permanent international control mechanism there and the importance of imposing sanctions and constraints on Azerbaijan, which resorts to the use of force in solving political problems.

Ambassador Ritter thanked the president for the reception and affirmed the Swiss Government's readiness to establish diplomatic relations with Armenia soon. He added that Switzerland has recognized the independence of all the member countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States. However, he added, this should be seen as the recognition of a fait accompli, not any special disposition by the Swiss Government towards any particular state. Any disposition in this regard will be made clear during the establishment of practical relations with the individual states.

Other matters of mutual interest were discussed at the meeting, which was also attended by the Armenian Foreign Minister Raffi Ovannisian, people's Deputy Karen Yuzbashyan, and other officials.

Foreign Ministry Spokesman Condemns Terrorism

NC2001165492 Istanbul HURRIYET in Turkish 14 Jan 92 p 12

[Text] Moscow (A.A.)—The Armenian Foreign Ministry has said that Armenia is opposed to all types of terrorist activity regardless of its origin. Armenian Foreign Ministry spokesman Garvik Vadalyan was asked to comment on an ASALA [Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia] disclosure made in Yerevan in December 1991 reclaiming responsibility for the assassination attempt on Turkish Ambassador to Hungary Bedrettin Tunabas. Vadalyn said that he was not in a position to even confirm that such a disclosure was made.

In a statement to ANATOLIA NEWS AGENCY, Vadalyan claimed that the report carried in Yerevan's papers was nothing more than a republication of a report carried by AFP and other sources on the matter. "We condemn terrorism regardless of its origin," he said.

The RUSSIAN NEWS AGENCY and KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA have said that ASALA made a statement in Yerevan on 11 January that it will continue its attacks on Turkish targets.

Intellectuals Appeal for Peace Negotiations

LD1901065592 Moscow TASS in English 2102 GMT 17 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan January 17 TASS—The continuing war between Armenian and Azeri people, in the fire of which a number of men, women, old men and children are dying everyday, has put our people on the brink of a national catastrophe, an appeal made by Azeri and Armenian intellectuals to the people and governments of the two republics and world community says. It was the first ever meeting of intellectuals of the two peoples held in four years in the Kazakh district of Azerbaijan since the ethnic hostilities started.

Ideals of humanism are above all national and state interests, and "there are no political, national and religious notions justifying killings of our children", participants of the meeting declared.

It is quite obvious, our people have no other way out except settling our disputes through peace talks. All wars must end and peace must be restored. The sooner we come to that, the more lives we will be able to save, the appeal emphasises.

Premier Restructures Council of Ministers

OW1701234492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1830 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Republican Premier Gagik Arutyunyan signed a ruling on January 16 scrapping nearly all industrial departments, except for those responsible for the economy, law, analysis and foreign relations.

According to the premier, the present-day structure of the Council of Ministers is "totally inefficient, it gave birth to a bureaucracy of colossal size." According to him, some of the ministries may have to be scrapped, too.

Labor Official Describes Unemployment Problems

OW2001223892 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1820 GMT 20 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] About 60-70 thousand people out of 240,000 unoccupied in production will be granted the official status of the unemployed in Armenia, as Gagik Bleyan, Deputy Minister of Labor and Social Protection, told IF [INTERFAX]. However, that will happen only after the parliament passes a law on employment.

Bleyan noted that by the end of the year a number of unemployed may increase, but is unlikely to surpass 100,000 people. "Up to 30,000 people can be employed already now," he said.

According to Bleyan, out of 240,000 jobless people in Armenia nearly 130,000 are housekeepers.

He estimates that the minimal welfare in Armenia should be 280 rubles. Such is currently the minimal salary in the republic. Bleyan also said that the government had given 400 million rubles to the Ministry of Labor and Social Protection of which 80% will be spent for re-qualification of citizens and the remainder for welfare.

Prosecutor's Office Investigates 1990 Pogroms

OW2001183292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1615 GMT 20 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Gevorg Danielyan, head of the Armenian Prosecutor's Office's department on ethnic issues, told IF [INTERFAX] that legal proceedings instituted by the Armenian Prosecutor's Office following the Armenian pogroms in Baku January 13-19, 1990, make up already 48 volumes. He said that more than 3,000 people had sent to the Prosecutor's Office their applications related to the pogroms.

According to official reports, the pogroms left 32 people dead. However, Danielyan said the Prosecutor's Office has information that about 100 people were killed.

He pointed out that after the creation of the Commonwealth of Independent States, the Armenian and Azeri Prosecutor's Offices can join their effort for investigating the January events in Baku. "We will try to use these opportunities in order to finish this case."

Azerbaijan

Nine Killed in Clashes in Nagorno-Karabakh

LD2001120792 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1052 GMT 20 Jan 92

[Text] Stepanakert (Khankendi), 20 Jan (TASS)—Eight people, including two women, were killed last night in the town of Martuni, Nagorno-Karabakh, during an artillery barrage from the Azerbaijani village of Amiranlar. According to the Nagorno-Karabakh internal affairs directorate, another four people were injured. Armenian self-defense forces returned fire, aiming to suppress the gun emplacements.

On the evening of 19 January, Stepanakert (Khankendi) came under artillery fire for several hours. An Armenian parliamentary deputy, Vigen Shirinyan, was killed and five people were injured. The internal affairs directorate reported a counter-strike by Armenian self-defense forces. There have been no reports of casualties from the Azerbaijani side.

A group of international observers led by Baroness Caroline Cox, deputy speaker of the House of Lords, is spending its fourth day in Nagorno-Karabakh.

Food Shipments Planned

NC1801202092 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1730 GMT 15 Jan 92

[Text] Boris Arushanyan, first deputy prime minister of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic, has said that no miracles can be expected to extricate Nagorno-Karabakh from it current economic crisis.

It is going to be very difficult to restore all that has been destroyed over the years, he said. The new government is now taking initiatives to provide foodstuffs to the population. Convoys of trucks loaded with flour and other foodstuffs will leave the republic's rayons for Stepanakert soon. Twenty tonnes of flour have already been sent from Armenia. Fuel is being obtained and stockpiled. A decision has been reached to issue coupons to distribute flour and foodstuffs.

Mutalibov Meets With Turkish Officials

LD2201063992 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1727 GMT 15 Jan 92

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] On January 14 a treaty on the restoration of diplomatic relations between Azerbaijan and Turkey was signed in Baku. The treaty was signed by Azerbaijan Foreign Minister Guseinaga Sadykhov and Director-General of the Turkish Foreign Ministry Political Department Bilal Shimshir.

On the same day representatives of the Turkish Foreign Ministry were received by President of Azerbaijan Ayaz Mutalibov, who noted that Turkey was the first to officially recognize the independence of Azerbaijan and thus open for it a window to the world community, as it were.

During the talks the sides noted that in the present political situation Azerbaijan could become a bridge between Turkey and the Commonwealth of Independent States. Details of protocol and some other diplomatic questions related to the Ayaz Mutalibov forthcoming visit to Turkey were also discussed at the meeting, PF was told at the Azerbaijan Foreign Ministry.

Mutalibov Interviewed on Relations With Turkey

NC2101134092 Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 15 Jan 92 p 10

["Exclusive" interview with President Ayaz Mutalibov by MILLIYET columnist Ali Sirmen in Baku; date not given]

[Text] [Sirmen] Mr. President, Turkey was the first country to recognize Azerbaijan's independence. It will now be the first country to accredit an ambassador to Azerbaijan. The protocol has already been drawn up. The Turkish Council of Ministers has adopted a decision to appoint an ambassador to Azerbaijan and you will visit Ankara next week. What do you think about current relations between Turkey and Azerbaijan?

[Mutalibov] The work carried out to improve relations is about to be completed; we have arrived at a very advanced stage in our relations. We have also begun to cooperate with a number of private companies in Turkey. When I visit Turkey, I will sign new protocols to further improve cooperation and mutual economic relations. We will try to determine how to further improve bilateral relations.

Turkey's recognition of Azerbaijan's independence has significantly contributed to our economic relations with the rest of the world. It has also further improved and broadened our bilateral relations. When I visit Turkey, I intend to stress that it will be very useful to establish close relations with both the private and official sectors in Turkey.

Nevertheless, certain points must be considered. The businessmen who wish to cooperate with us must act with foresight. They must not make plans on a day-to-day basis.

[Sirmen] What do you expect from your visit to Turkey? What kind of economic progress can be achieved?

[Mutalibov] First, there must be a banking initiative. It would be useful to establish a joint bank to meet the needs of the two countries. Azerbaijan and Turkey should allocate the funds required to establish a joint bank.

We are enacting new laws, such as the law on privatization, which will resolve the question of ownership. The laws we enact will form a basis for improving our economic relations. Obviously, it is essential to establish a joint bank for all this. The two sides will contribute toward establishing this bank and both will benefit from it. This is very important.

Turkey has large successful companies that are well-known internationally. They should not feel any anxiety. They must rest assured that no matter how much they help, we will pay our debts once we overcome our temporary economic problems.

The whole world must realize that the Azerbaijanis and Turks are two fraternal peoples. The world is aware of this; whether we say it or not makes no difference. Our fraternal relations must be channeled toward establishing concrete cooperation. I ask that companies move courageously to establish relations with Azerbaijan and that they be willing to make sacrifices. We wish to benefit from Turkey's position in the international arena and take our place in the international finance system. We also wish to improve our relations with the United States and Europe.

We are aware that Armenia is waging a creative propaganda campaign against Azerbaijan. The U.S. Administration is supporting Armenian initiatives. We have lagged behind in that regard. With Turkey's help, we will have a better opportunity to explain our problems internationally.

[Sirmen] How do you think the Karabakh problem can be resolved?

[Mutalibov] Our main objective is to establish peace in the region. We wish to resolve all problems peacefully and politically. We have always supported peace. Neither Armenia nor Azerbaijan will benefit if the war continues. The time when solutions were sought with cannons and guns is now past. In view of their strong international relations, Armenians are waging an intensive campaign against Azerbaijan. The Western press has contributed to Azerbaijan's image as an aggressive republic. People believe Azerbaijan is aggressive; they do not understand the true state of affairs.

The war in Karabakh notwithstanding, we did wait for Armenia to abandon its improper decision to annex Karabakh. They failed to do so. Then the tragic and unfortunate crash of a helicopter on 20 November 1991 exhausted the patience of the people, the parliament, and the government, so the autonomous status of Karabakh was abolished. We did not touch the cultural autonomy of the Armenian people, but they responded by declaring Karabakh's independence. Their referendum conflicted with Azerbaijan's Constitution and international rules and regulations. The situation is very confusing.

Armenia's interference on the pretext of Armenians living in the region is dangerous. There are Armenians living in Iran, Turkey, and France, but Armenia does not interfere in the internal affairs of these countries. The Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] has recently intervened in the problem in a way that supports Armenia. The Armenians have established good relations with the Russian Federation. Turkey used to view the Karabakh problem as an internal affair of the former Soviet Union. It believed that foreign interference would be wrong. Turkey's approach was right at the time, but now Azerbaijan is a fully independent country. The CIS has been established and none of the CIS members are superior to the others. In view of this, Turkey must realize the international nature of the problem and move to support Azerbaijan.

[Sirmen] Turkey may alter its relations with Armenia. Would this adversely affect Turkey's relations with Azerbaijan?

[Mutalibov] First, Armenia must abandon its claims for land. You will recall that Armenians have also claimed land from Turkey and they accused Turkey of genocide. Attention should be focused on all this and Turkey should move to improve its relations with Armenia on the condition that Armenians relinquish their claims. Establishing good relations on this condition would undoubtedly benefit both Turkey and Armenia.

[Sirmen] The fact that you do not have a convertible currency, that is, you are still using the ruble, hinders improved relations between Turkey and Azerbaijan. How will this problem be resolved?

[Mutalibov] This is a problem. Nevertheless, we will have our own currency. Maybe not right away but eventually. The companies planning to trade with us may agree to make credits available to Azerbaijan. Undoubtedly they will stand to gain significantly from this process. We have oil and cotton. We are in a position to pay for everything we receive.

[Sirmen] Do you believe the CIS will survive?

[Mutalibov] I hope that it will continue to exist for a long time. Its existence is a historic requirement. What could destroy it? A coup, which is regarded as an attack, could cause it to disintegrate, but the democratic world would not accept this. Therefore, the union will survive. I do not wish to be pessimistic.

[Sirmen] What about the future of the armed forces in Azerbaijan?

[Mutalibov] The military units situated in Azerbaijan, which will eventually be part of our republic's armed forces, must cooperate with us and stand on our side. They must be a part of our own army, but there is a problem with this. Our situation is more complex than in other republics, such as the Ukraine where half of the officers in military units are Ukrainian. Our situation is not the same. If we call for the withdrawal of all non-Azerbaijani personnel, we will have nothing but empty buildings.

Egyptian Delegation Meets With Officials

NC2201103592 Cairo MENA in Arabic 2230 GMT 21 Jan 92

[Text] Baku, 21 Jan (MENA)—Azerbaijani President Ayaz Mutalibov received a message from President Husni Mubarak on bilateral relations. He received the message during his meeting here today with Dr. Kamal al-Janzuri, deputy prime minister and minister of planning.

Dr. al-Janzuri stated that Mutalibov praised President Husni Mubarak's wise policy, stressing that Egypt has great influence at the Arab, Islamic, and international levels. The Azerbaijani president expressed his country's desire to boost relations with Egypt in all fields.

Mutalibov received Dr. al-Janzuri and his delegation shortly after their arrival from Moscow. Talks between the two sides lasted two hours.

Azerbaijani Prime Minister Gasan Gasanov also received Dr. al-Janzuri and the Egyptian delegation. He discussed the steps his country is taking to attract investments and to move to a market economy. He invited Egyptian businessmen and investors to set up joint projects in Azerbaijan.

Dr. al-Janzuri, businessmen accompanying his delegation, and the Azerbaijani prime minister then attended an expanded seminar. An open dialogue took place during which the businessmen urged changing the law to allow them to set up investment projects that would help development in Azerbaijan. A dinner banquet was held in honor of the Egyptian delegation.

Azerbaijani President Mutalibov accepted President Mubarak's invitation to visit Egypt and promised to do so soon. Dr. al-Janzuri conveyed this invitation during his visit to Baku. The Azerbaijani prime minister accepted a similar invitation.

People's Front Spokesman on Religious Freedom

AU2001202392 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 17 Jan 92 p 3

[Telephone interview with Ali Muskhatov, a spokesman of the Azerbaijan People's Front, by Szerdahelyi; place and date not given: "Is Baku Populated by Peaceful Muslims?—We Will Even Sacrifice Our Lives for Our Ancient Lands"]

[Text] The issue has nothing to do with giving up democracy; closer connection with religion will not hinder our further development. On the contrary: The people's spiritual peace will help us overcome our everyday problems, and Baku receives great help from Ankara in this, too—Ali Muszkhatov told us over the telephone.

[Szerdahelyi] The Azeris regard the Turks as blood brothers, but Turkey does not seem to hurry in returning this great friendship....

[Muskhatov] You are wrong in evaluating the situation because, in the limit of its possibilities, Turkey is providing us with great help both in accelerating the economic investments and in the area of cultural life. I do not know why it is surprising that we and the Turkish people are brother nations! Perhaps Hungary was not aware of this. If so, the socialist mechanism also worked perfectly in Hungary.

[Szerdahelyi] Let us refrain from examining the amount of damage the past regime caused in both countries. In any case, I am well aware of the huge destruction carried out in the religious life in Azerbaijan.

[Muskhatov] There has been a single mosque left intact in Baku for decades, but it has been almost life-threatening to visit this mosque, and it was closed for quite a long time. New mosques are being built in several towns in Azerbaijan today, and the people enjoy increasing religious freedom.

[Szerdahelyi] Visiting Baku, I saw that mainly older people were interested in religion.

[Muskhatov] This is not so today. I am happy to see that masses of young people also demand religious education.

[Szerdahelyi] Religious freedom is really welcome, but the world's Christian half seems to be afraid of the aggressive advance of the Muslim countries.

[Muskhatov] One should not use the word "aggressive." The Western world does not like the fact that the Muslim countries might become stronger and also demand a greater role for themselves in the political and economic life.

[Szerdahelyi] Are the Russians living in Azerbaijan afraid of this advance?

[Muskhatov] Their numbers are small, and they do not have to be afraid of us. Muslims are peace-loving people.

[Szerdahelyi] The Nagorno-Karabakh conflict does not seem to justify this.

[Muskhatov] The Armenians started this conflict. We are ready to sacrifice our lives for our ancient lands.

[Szerdahelyi] It seems that Armenia is alarmed at the strengthening of your relations with Ankara for precisely this reason, because the Armenians have tragic experiences with the Turks.

[Muskhatov] It is wrong to bring up old conflicts!

[Szerdahelyi] I would not call genocide a conflict....

[Muskhatov] As I already said, do not try to dig into the past with bad intentions!

[Szerdahelyi] In your opinion, will there be peace in Nagorno-Karabakh?

[Muskhatov] Rapprochement does not depend on us.

[Szerdahelyi] Can you envisage Azerbaijan united with Turkey?

[Muskhatov] One of the goals of our People's Front is to have full cooperation, and this could also mean the opening of borders. Naturally, in this case, we can definitely not stay members of the Commonwealth of Independent States. Our People's Front does not support our government's policy in this respect, and we have expressed our opinion to our president and our prime minister. However, we have not yet received any genuine answer to our observations.

Leaders Send President Letters on Recognition

Cambodian President

NC2001115992 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1800 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Text] The presidential palace has disclosed the letter sent to President Mutalibov by Norodom Sihanouk, president of the State of Cambodia and chairman of the Supreme National Council. The letter says:

Mr. Ayaz Mutalibov, president of the Azerbaijan Republic, I am honored to convey to you this letter on behalf of the Cambodian people and the Supreme National Council of Cambodia to congratulate you on the historic occasion of the establishment of the Commonwealth of Independent States, of which the Azerbaijan Republic is a member.

I wish to inform you that the Supreme National Council of independent and united Cambodia, which is a UN member, recognizes the Azerbaijan Republic as a sovereign, independent, and territorially integral state. I am confident that the traditional friendly ties and the multifaceted cooperation between our countries and peoples always will develop.

With this feeling, I wholeheartedly wish you success in your historic duties as the president of the Azerbaijan Republic. I also wish happiness and progress to the great people of Azerbaijan.

Mr. President, I ask you to accept my highest regards.

[Signed] Norodom Sihanouk, president of the State of Cambodia and chairman of the Supreme National Council

Afghan President

NC2001115092 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 0300 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Text] The presidential palace has disclosed Ayaz Mutalibov's letter from Dr. Najibollah, president of Afghanistan. The letter says:

Mr. President, on behalf of the Afghan Government and people, I warmly congratulate you on the declaration of Azerbaijan's independence.

The Afghan Government, complying with the principle of maintaining a peaceful foreign policy, adhering to the right of peoples to self-determination, respecting the will of the fraternal people of the Azerbaijan Republic, and considering the deep ties and the historical, cultural, and religious relations which have existed between our peoples for a long time, officially recognized Azerbaijan's independence on 22 December. Furthermore, it has made known that it supports Azerbaijani accession to the United Nations.

The relations between the two peoples, who have a common religion and culture, are developing in the political, economic, trade, scientific, technical, and cultural fields to promote the two countries' interests in the new domestic and international situation. Afghanistan and Azerbaijan have significant opportunities to improve, broaden, and strengthen their mutual cooperation. Using these opportunities will further contribute toward our people's interest and peace and stability in the region and in the world.

Therefore, the Afghan Government, to establish active and productive relations and maintain mutual political, economic, trade, scientific, technical, and cultural cooperation, wishes to establish diplomatic relations with friendly and fraternal Azerbaijan. We deem it appropriate that the two countries move to exchange plenipotentiary delegations at the government and state level so these relations and the new fields in which they can cooperate can be established.

I wish to take this opportunity to wish you and the people of Azerbaijan health and success.

[Signed] Dr. Najibollah, president of Afghanistan

Jurisdiction Claimed Over Units in Nakhichevan

PM2001130792 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Jan 92 Morning Edition p 1

[RIA report: "Nakhichevan Gathers Its Army"]

[Text] Geydar Aliyev has declared that all military units in the territory of the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic must be subordinate to the republic's Supreme Majlis. Servicemen are forbidden to take anything except personal belongings out of the republic without the said body's sanction.

Georgia

Government, Gamsakhurdia Supporters Hold Talks

Clashes Continue

AU2101165492 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1400 GMT 21 Jan

[Excerpt] The situation is again tense in certain regions of western Georgia. This morning, beginning at 0200, in a suburb of Samtredia near [word indistinct], there occured a confrontation between supporters of the former president and (?members) of the National Guard. According to the Samtredia security service, there were no casualties in this confrontation.

As our correspondent has informed us, it is generally calm in the town and a curfew is in force. There are frequent power outages, however, which are upsetting the daily rhythm of the population. A water shortage, now in its third consecutive day, is the reason for the lack of electricity.

Transportation has resumed at the railway junction. Passenger and freight trains are operating in the direction of Tbilisi, Batumi, and Ozurgeti. There are still no trains to Poti and Sukhumi. Work has resumed at the railway junction in Samtredia. The situation is gradually returning to normal in Tbilisi. [passage omitted]

Action in Abkhazia Reported

AU2101174692 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1400 GMT 21 Jan

[Text] Meetings in support of Zviad Gamsakhurdia are continuing in various towns in Abkhazia.

Yesterday and today such meetings were held in Sukhumi, Gali, and Gagra. During the last two days the situation has become more tense in Gagra. Yesterday [word indistinct] Gamsakhurdia's supporters blocked the main highway into Gagra, which was only opened today between 0400 and 0500. [words indistinct] road was opened.

This morning our correspondent in Sukhumi contacted the executive committee in Gagra, whose employees stated that it is calm in Gagra today.

Today our Sukhumi correspondent talked with the leaders and members of that armed detachment who are in the "Tbilisi" sanatorium and who support the Georgian Military Council and provisional government. They stated that they [words indistinct] the sanatorium and will not (?leave) Gagra. The authorities and security service in Gagra are taking measures to settle the conflict peacefully.

Another meeting was held in Sukhumi today, which was attended by approximately 5,000 people.

The Abkhaz Supreme Council building is under increased guard again. Our Sukhumi correspondent [words indistinct] a number of ministers from Zviad Gamsakhurdia's Cabinet of Ministers and plenipotentiaries are in the state dacha in Sukhumi. At a news conference organized for local and foreign journalists, they stated that they do not intend to lauch any attack on the Abkhaz Supreme Council building or other administrative buildings.

Supporters Given Deadline

LD2101155292 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1500 GMT 21 Jan 92

[Text] The talks which began yesterday in Tbilisi between representatives of the Military Council and the Committee of National Disobedience have produced nothing so far. In the name of the council, Dzhaba Ioseliani, one of the leaders of the Georgian Military Council who took part in the talks, has given the supporters of Zviad Gamsakhurdia a deadline: They are to lay down their arms and leave town by 2000 today. If they do not, he stressed, the Military Council will be obliged to use force.

According to reports from Abashskiy rayon, which is located next to Zugdidi, armed clashes are taking place there now between the forces of the new authorities and combat detachments of Gamsakhurdia supporters. In Zugdidi itself things are relatively calm for the moment.

Emigration Application Demanded

AU2101191992 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Russian 1543 GMT 21 Jan 92

[Text] As Tengiz Sigua, acting prime minister of the republic, stated yesterday at a news conference, the future development of events depends largely upon the negotiations that began on the same day in Zugdidi between representatives of the provisional government and the Military Council, on the one hand, and members of the [word indistinct] civil disobedience headed by Shurgaya, one of the former Georgian president's associates and deputy of the Supreme Council, on the other. One of the main conditions advanced at these negotiations by Gamsakhurdia's supporters is the provision of assistance for the unimpeded departure of the ex-president to a Western country. However, as pointed out by the head of the provisional government, the authorities will agree to this only provided that a written statement to this effect is received from Gamsakhurdia personally. At the moment, the former president and his family only have a private invitation to go to France from Shalva (?Katsarishvili) who resides there. However, this invitation was not coordinated with the government of that country and has not been confirmed by an official document.

Gunfire Marks Expiration

LD2101215992 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1200 GMT 21 Jan 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Georgia's Military Council sent an ultimatum to Zviad Gamsakhurdia's supporters saying that they should lay down their weapons before 2000 today. In response to that demand, a 10,000-strong rally gathered in Poti. Those taking part in it declared that they would not allow provisional government troops into the town.

When the ultimatum deadline expired, shots rang out in the town. According to information received as of 2100 from the press secretary of the Poti prefecture, the town was in a panic.

Cease-Fire Agreement Reached

LD2101195692 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1900 GMT 21 Jan 92

[Text] In Georgia a cease-fire agreement has been reached between the opposition and supporters of the ousted president Zviad Gamsakhurdia. A leader of the Georgian Military Council, Dzhaba Ioseliani, categorically demanded at the talks that the supporters of the ousted president give up arms and leave the city of Zugdidi.

According to reports from that region, on Tuesday [21 January] armed clashes took place there between the forces of the new administration and units supporting Mr. Gamsakhurdia. At least two men have been killed and 10 others wounded. This was the first bloody clash of the belligerents since the recent battles in the Georgian capital Tbilisi.

On Tuesday the republic's new administration denied rumors that repressions would be taken against Mr. Gamsakhurdia's supporters. The whereabouts of the deposed president are unknown.

Forces Take Back 2 More Towns

AU2201114492 Paris AFP in English 1128 GMT 22 Jan 92

[Report by Christopher Boian]

[Text] Senaki, Georgia, Jan 22 (AFP)—Forces of the ruling military council in Tbilisi captured two more towns in western Georgia on Wednesday [22 January] and their commander said he was waiting to meet with officials loyal to ousted president Zviad Gamsakhurdia for fresh talks to end the conflict.

The Tbilisi forces—backed by armoured personnel carriers, at least one heavy cannon, and light artillery—advanced into the city of Abasha during the night and pushed on to Senaki, about 15 kilometers further north along the main route leading to Zugdidi.

Dzhaba Ioseliani, one of two leaders of the military council and the commander of the Tbilisi troops, set up new headquarters in the Senaki hotel but declined to say when he planned to launch an expected advance on Zugdidi, the stronghold of Gamsakhurdia's supporters.

"We want to meet and make some agreement, but they have no leader," Ioseliani said in an interview in his headquarters on the fourth floor of the Senaki hotel. It is very difficult to make peace, there is a lot of self- interest here," he added.

Ioseliani, protected in the hotel by some two dozen heavily- armed, uniformed fighters, said he had spoken to Tbilisi's acting Prime Minister Tengiz Sigua earlier Wednesday who had told him that representatives from Zugdidi would come either to Senaki or the nearby city of Khobi for talks later in the day.

Although Ioseliani's forces had clearly taken control of Senaki, the situation in the city was tense and early in the day the hotel was surrounded by hundreds of angry demonstrators shouting "Long live Zviad, long live Zviad."

Ioseliani, surrounded by bodyguards, at one point emerged from the hotel and attempted to address the crowd but was shouted down and forced to go back inside the building as violent scuffles broke out between local residents and individual Tbilisi fighters.

Ioseliani said Gamsakhurdia was still in hiding in the Abkhazia region of northwest Georgia, but asked if he would be willing to let the contested Georgian leader leave the republic he said: "I think maybe I would agree to this."

He said his forces had encountered little resistance on entering Abasha and Senaki, but local residents here were clearly angry at his presence in the city.

"We do not want these people, they are a junta," said Dali Alania, one of the protesters outside the hotel. "We want the rule of law, we at least want to talk and they respond with rockets," she said.

Ioseliani said two of his men had been killed and a dozen others wounded Tuesday [21 January] during a pitched battle with Gamsakhurdia loyalists for control over a key bridge, south of Abasha. The battle also left two loyalist fighters dead and at least 10 wounded.

The Tbilisi forces had set up roadblocks and checkpoints on the outskirts of Senaki but there were no signs of any similar moves by loyalist forces on the road between Zugdidi and Senaki.

In Zugdidi, meanwhile, hundreds of civilians gathered outside the local government building but there was no indication that any armed loyalists were preparing to defend the city.

Gamsakhurdia in Sochi Denied

OW2101192292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1819 GMT 21 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Mikhail Savva, member of the regional council of Krasnodar (southern Russia), has denied that the deposed Georgian president Zviad Gamsakhurdia is staying near the city of Sochi. He said a thorough check proved that neither Mr. Gamsakhurdia nor his family members or guards were present in the area.

Gamsakhurdia's Wife Said in Sochi

LD2101210992 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2030 GMT 21 Jan 92

[From the Review of Evening Newspapers]

[Text] Moscow, 21 Jan (TASS)—Just as before, the situation in Georgia is making the front pages of the evening newspapers. Vesik Urigashvili, the IZVESTIYA correspondent in Tbilisi, citing information at the disposal of the republic's interim government, reports that not a single country has expressed the desire to give refuge to the overthrown president, Gamsakhurdia. The correspondent states that the location of Gamsakhurdia's wife has become known: She is in Sochi and is being reliably protected.

Rumors of Reprisals Denied

LD2101210492 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1945 GMT 21 Jan 92

[By SAKINFORM correspondent Eduard Ediberidze]

[Text] Tbilisi, 21 Jan (SAKINFORM-TASS)—Georgia's Provisional Government and Military Council have denied rumors that Zviad Gamsakhurdia's supporters and companions in arms will be subject to repressions.

They stress in a statement that there will be no repressions or persecutions of the ex-president's followers and that rumors to that effect are only gossip that some people are spreading deliberately or otherwise. Only those who have committed crimes will be punished, the statement says.

Negotiations between representatives of the Military Council and the Committee for National Disobedience, which started yesterday, have not yet yielded any results. Acting on behalf of the Military Council, Dzhava Ioseliani, one of the Council leaders taking part in the negotiations, issued an ultimatum to Gamsakhurdia's supporters to lay down their weapons and leave town today before 2000. If they do not, he stressed, the Military Council will have to use force.

According to information arriving from Abashskiy Rayon, adjacent to Zugdidi, armed clashes are taking place between forces representing the new authorities and military detachments of Gamsakhurdia supporters. In Zugdidi itself the situation, for the time being, is relatively calm. Some 500 people took part in a rally here. The people who had gathered yelled catcalls as Georgian Supreme Soviet Deputy Valter Shkurgaya, who heads the Committee for National Disobedience and is one of Gamsakhurdia's closest associates, gave a pacifistic address.

Poti Naval Unit Attacked; Commander Wounded

LD2101192192 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1800 GMT 21 Jan 92

[Text] According to the RUSSIAN NEWS AGENCY, on the evening of 20 January there were two attacks against a naval unit stationed in the Georgian town of Poti. During the second onslaught, the attackers, who were armed with automatic rifles, attempted to break down the gate of the cantonment with the help of a heavily loaded KamAZ truck. The naval press service reports that Captain First Rank (Subis), the unit's commander, was seriously wounded as the attack was being repelled.

Commonwealth Forces Urged To Defend 10 Sites

OW2101161592 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1315 GMT 21 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Georgia's Premier Tengiz Sigua and Defense Minister Levan Sharashenidze have urged Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, Admiral Vladimir Chernavin and other commanders of the Commonwealth armed forces to appoint Transcaucasian district troops and Black Sea Fleet units to jointly defend important installations on the republic's territory against attacks by subversive elements.

Among the ten installations proposed for joint defense is the Black Sea Fleet's naval headquarters in the city of Poti which has twice over the past few days come under attacks from unidentified gunmen. On Monday [20 January], Captain 1st Class Aleksandr Tsupin was wounded in a fire exchange there.

Majority Votes for Independence in South Ossetia

LD2101132192 Moscow TASS in English 1246 GMT 21 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz January 21 TASS—Preliminary estimates of the South Ossetian Supreme Soviet indicate 98.2 per cent of the population participated in the referendum on the independence of South Ossetia and its unification with Russia.

The absolute majority of South Ossetians answered "yes" to the question on the republic's independence and its unification with Russia. Villages where Georgians predominantly live did not take part in the ballot.

There has yet been no official reaction to the results of the vote on the part of the Georgian interim government. The Georgian Foreign Ministry stated, however, that the referendum is an infringement upon the territorial integrity of the republic.

The first steps by South Ossetian leaders to implement the ideas of the referendum are still unknown, a programme for the transition period has not yet been made public and a concept of the relationships with the leaders of Georgia and the Russian Federation has not yet been elaborated.

Ministry Condemns Referendum

LD1801153592 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1436 GMT 18 Jan 92

[By SAKINFORM correspondent Eduard Ediberidze]

[Text] Tbilisi, 18 Jan (TASS)—The Georgian Foreign Ministry today circulated a statement in connection with reports coming in from Shida Kartli (the former South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast) of the intentions in certain circles to infringe upon the territorial integrity of the Republic of Georgia. As is known, they have announced that a referendum will be held there on 19 January on the issue of whether the so-called South Ossetia should join Russia.

The Georgian Foreign Ministry categorically rejects attempts to settle political conflicts forcibly, and believes that the new conditions present a real chance to stop the bloodshed and confrontation between the two fraternal peoples, the Georgians and Ossetians, in Shida Kartli, and to settle the existing problems through peaceful negotiations.

Nobody should doubt, the document says, that the Republic of Georgia, like any other sovereign state, will defend its territorial integrity and the inviolability of its borders by all available means, including military means.

The Georgian Foreign Ministry expressed a resolute protest in connection with the intentions of the separatist-minded forces of Shida Kartli to seize one of the most ancient, historical regions. The statement emphasizes that the Georgian Foreign Ministry will continue to be guided by the universally recognized principles of international law in the search for ways to settle the conflict.

Council Criticizes Move

LD1701150292 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 1300 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Text] A report from Tbilisi: Georgia's Military Council today issued a statement. It says that at a time when there have been real steps toward a political settlement of the conflict in Shida Kartli, the former South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast, certain forces of South Ossetian and Georgian nationality have an interest in destablizing the situation and are taking steps designed to frustrate the peace process.

As is known, the so-called South Ossetian Republic is about to hold a referendum, on 19 January, on the unification of the age-old Georgian territory with Russia. The Military Council of the Republic of Georgia sees this step as a crude attempt to violate the territorial integrity of a sovereign state and pins all responsibility for the possible consequences on the destructive forces.

The statement appeals for talks to be started immediately with the participation of the interested sides and with observance of the standards of international law.

Estonia

State of Economy Prompts Emergency Measures

Special Powers Requested

LD2001054292

[Editorial Report] Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian at 1000 GMT on 15 January carries a six-minute report by correspondent Gunnar Paal from the Supreme Council session in Tallinn on 15 January.

Paal notes that the Supreme Council session is discussing the granting of special powers to the government. Two major reports have already been made and another 20 deputies have requested to speak on the subject. Paal introduces Kalju Koha, chairman of the Budget and Economic Commission, who also spoke.

Koha sums up the results of his commission's meeting yesterday. Koha says that what the government wants is to have special powers until 1 June; it wishes to implement its Resolution No. 15, drawn up and adopted in early 1991 and detailing special emergency measures, and wishes to suspend any legislation as it sees fit. The commission found that the government could implement Resolution No. 15 even without any special powers, but that with respect to changing any laws the Supreme Council would need to know which ones the government wishes to suspend or alter, and that the government's request for special powers leaves this aspect vague. Koha continues: "The issue is, for example, that we have now undertaken a serious process—reform of ownership. We have adopted two laws plus some subsidiary acts to those laws. And I personally fear that changes could be made to those acts; that is, within those powers the government would have the full right to do so; that is, the ownership reform will no longer proceed the way we have agreed here in the parliament. A danger of this kind does exist."

Paal asks Koha to comment on the fact that the government has linked the special powers to a vote of confidence. Koha replies: "I understand that the government wants extensive powers with the knowledge that there is also confidence. That is, this is how I personally interpret this. But I ask: Is this necessary? Is this necessary? And I currently do not know the answer."

Paal notes that discussion at the Supreme Council continues.

Minister Offers Resignation

OW1901212792 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1500 GMT 19 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Estonian Justice Minister Juri Raidla announced his willingness to resign at a meeting of the government January 16, as his assistant Silja Pender told BF [BALTFAX]. She said that Raidla believes a resolution passed by the republican parliament last Thursday [16 January] on introduction of an economic state of emergency in Estonia has not stabilized the political situation, but, on the contrary, worsened the crisis.

The day earlier, January 15, at a meeting of the parliament Estonian Economy Minister Jaak Leimann announced his decision to resign. At a meeting January 17 heads of institutions, organizations and enterprises subordinated to the Estonian Culture Ministry, expressed no-confidence in Minister of Culture Lepo Sumera. In an address to the government they stressed the necessity to replace him.

More Resignations Suggested

OW2101143392 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1350 GMT 21 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On August 20 the Estonian parliament failed to come to an agreement on the membership of the anti-crisis commission being set up under economic emergency ruling.

Inar Fjuk, leader of the Popular Center Faction, said to BF [BALTFAX] that the Estonian government should resign on Thursday [23 January] at the latest because, according to him, the Estonian parliament "would not be able to endorse the government's proposals on how to cope with the economic crisis in the republic."

According to Fjuk, the position of premier should be filled by Arnold Ruutel, chairman of the Estonian Supreme Council, who is today the only politician capable of consolidating disparate political forces.

Fjuk said he would step down as the parliament leader of the National Centrist Party led by Premier Edgar Savisaar.

Estonia's Coalition Party called on the Savisaar government to immediately resign in order to set up a "broad-based coalition government."

The party's Monday [20 January] statement indicates that the emergency economic situation "has worsened the political and economic crisis."

The Coalition Party has among its members five key Savisaar government's ministers: Labor, Finance, Agriculture, Transport and Communications and Material Resources.

The board of the Central Land Party also demanded the resignation of the Savisaar cabinet. The party is beginning consultations with centrist parties to create a new government coalition.

The board of the Liberal-Democratic Party of Estonia took a statement on January 20 to urge its 4 parliamentarians to vote for the repeal of the emergency economic situation in parliament.

The Otechestvo, an alliance of 4 conservative Estonian parties, has also been criticizing the republican government.

Party Demands Resignation

OW2101194592 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1847 GMT 21 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On January 21, the Estonian Social-Democratic Party radically changed its position and demanded that the Savisaar government resign. Last week, this party supported the government, as well as its plans to introduce the state of emergency in the economy.

Chairman of the Estonian parliament, Mr. Arnold Ruutel, has been recommended that he begin talks with the Estonian political forces "to overcome the crisis".

Supreme Council Discusses Soviet Army Property

LD2201053292

[Editorial Report] Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian at 1000 GMT on 21 Jan carries a four-minute report by correspondent Gunnar Paal from the Estonian Supreme Council session in Tallinn. He says that today's Supreme Council session is discussing Soviet Army property in Estonia, as a matter of urgency. A draft resolution has been drawn up which declares all property, equipment, and arms belonging to the former USSR to be the property of the Republic of Estonia.

Paal interviews Enn Tupp, chairman of the state defense commission, who acknowledges that there has indeed been a delay in discussing the subject. Tupp says, "We did not want to do it sooner because we were not sure that if we declared everything to be ours we would not be paying the state debt of the former USSR. This problem made us cautious. But as talks have so far not provided practically any results for us—and ways and opportunites for talks have been sought since the beginning of September—then there is nothing left to us but to take this action."

Tupp adds that it is not a simple matter because it affects all kinds of local deals concluded between small firms or local governments and the Army, and that the resolution, once adopted, will have the power to rescind all such deals. Tupp emphasizes the urgency of the matter: "I am convinced that we have to complete this during the week because the Russian Government has now recognized that the forces stationed in the Baltics are under Russia's jurisdiction. And we cannot in any way go along with that because in that case in the near future we might altogether end up in a Russian sphere of influence; I am thinking here of international treaties already."

Nationalization Approved

LD2101204392 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 21 Jan 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The session of the Supreme Soviet of Estonia has decided at its session that the property of the Soviet Army on the territory of the republic should be put at the disposal of Estonia.

Visas Required To Enter Country 15 Jan

PM2101113192 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Jan 92 Morning Edition p 7

[Report by Leonid Levitskiy: "Estonian Visa Costs 25 Rubles"]

[Text] Tallinn—As of 15 January, a visa is required to enter Estonia.

At present you do not need to apply for it to diplomatic departments beforehand. Once a train departs from, say, Moscow, the conductor will distribute special forms. The passenger has more than enough time to fill out the form. After crossing the Estonian border, the border guards will take one half of the form for themselves and stamp the other half, indicating the permitted period of stay in the republic. With the exception of special cases, the period should not exceed one month.

Of course, this regime is still not a full-blown visa system—it is more like a control system. In approximately a month's time a convincing reason for visiting Estonia will be needed—an invitation from a personal acquaintance or an organization. For now, entry to Estonia—that is, the visa—costs 25 rubles [R]. This is a temporary price. A few days ago at a parliamentary session Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar was asked: Why does a Finn pay 100 markkas for an Estonian visa while a Russian pays just R25? Deputy I. Khallaste believes that justice demands that the latter be charged no less than R2,500 (which is the value of 100 Finnish markkas at the commercial exchange rate). The prime minister answered: Such "rates" would complicate relations with Eastern neighbors and provoke discontent among a significant part of the republic's population. But he added that the cost of the visa is by no means constant.

I asked staffers of the Russian mission in Estonia how they evaluate the introduction of the visa system for visiting Estonia.

"It is up to the state itself to define the system for entry to and exit from the state," they told me diplomatically. "But you must also realize that Russia will immediately take identical retaliatory measures."

Trade Agreement Concluded With Russia

OW1901185092 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1345 GMT 18 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Estonian Minister for Material Resources, Mr. Alexander Sikkal, told BF [BALTFAX] that on January 17 Russia and Estonia concluded a trade agreement for the first quarter of 1992. (The document lacks the signature of Russian Vice-Premier Yegor Gaydar, who is epected to sign it on January 20—BF)

Estonia found it necessary to conclude an additional trade agreement in view of the fact that Russia undersupplied it with fuel.

The agreement guarantees that in the first quarter of 1992 Russia would supply Estonia with the required amount of black oil and gas. Supplies of gasoline and diesel fuel will be cut down. In her turn, Estonia will supply Russia with more electric energy, meat, dairy and fish products, and confectionary than planned.

Mr. Sikkal noted that Estonia would have to limit her energy consumption to honour the agreement.

Director-General of the state enterprise Eesti Kutus (Estonian Fuel), Mr. Oleg Panfilov, told BF that the agreement was based on world prices and that its worth for the the first quarter of the year stood at 63.2 million dollars.

Plans for Armed Forces Meet Unexpected Problems

OW1901212692 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1500 GMT 19 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] As BF's [BALTFAX] correspondent reports from Tallinn, the formation of Estonian Armed Forces is going on with more difficulties than it was expected earlier [as received]. A call-up is on the verge of the collapse. So far, a draft budget for the first half of 1992 has not been adopted. According to the draft, it was planned originally to earmark 100 million rubles for the needs of defense (for maintaining 8,000-strong personnel and purchasing fire arms and military equipment). However, it became clear now that due to high inflation rates military expenditures will also go up.

Circles determining the future military policy of Estonia believe the republic should find other ways of setting up its own, although not large, but strong army, apart from direct financing. The army should include small air units, air defense and anti-tanks forces and coast guard ships.

In this connection, the Estonian political and military circles are discussing the proposal not to raise the question of Russian troops' withdrawal from the republic, in case Russia transfers the necessary military equipment to Estonia free.

Soviet Units Leave Estonian Military Camps

PM2101114992 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Jan 92 Morning Edition p 1

[BALTIYA report: "Soviet Army Leaves Estonia"]

[Text] The Soviet Army has left the military camps at Johvi and Nursi, leaving just a few guard details behind, a BALTIYA correspondent was told by Toomas Puura, chief of the State Chancellery's State and Border Defense Department.

Price Deregulation for Foodstuffs Announced

LD2001135292 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1200 GMT 18 Jan 92

[Text] The Estonian Minister of Agriculture has reported that from the beginning of February free prices are being introduced for all foodstuffs in the republic. This is the only possibility of halting the export of produce and of stabilizing the republic's home market, the minister explained.

EC Agrees To Supply Emergency Grain, Medicine

OW2101194992 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1847 GMT 21 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Estonian Foreign Ministry's press service reports that following talks, the European Community decided to send Estonia 60,000 tons [as received] of grain at the latter's request. The first lot is to arrive in a three weeks' time, and the second and third ones—shortly after the first one, at an interval of one week. In advance, the EC will send Estonia 10 tons of fodder grain.

At Estonia's request, the EC will also supply this republic with an emergency lot of 2,000 tons of grain and 1,500 tons of sugar which will arrive in Estonia next week, in addition to the free supplies.

Estonia will also receive 5 million ECU worth of medicines as humanitarian aid.

On January 13, Estonia asked the European Community for free supplies of 60,000 tons of grain, 60,000 tons of fodder grain, 20,000 tons of soy beans and 15,000 tons of sugar.

Government Establishes New Energy Prices

LD2201044192 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1800 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Excerpt] The Estonian Government resolved at its session today that so long as there is uncertainty about fuel oil supplies it will not be possible to increase the cost of heating. The government, however, established new prices for electricity, oil-shale, and for natural and liquid gas. The average base tariff for electricity will now be 24 kopecks per kwh while for the population it will be 20 kopecks. From today a tonne of oil-shale will cost 54 rubles [R] and 1,000 cubic meters of natural gas will cost R305.

The Estonian Government endorsed the setting up of the Estonian State Forests state enterprise and the composition of its administrative council. It was also decided that persons who are drunk will have to pay for both first aid and medical tests. [passage omitted]

Latvia

State of 'Real' Armed Forces Outlined

LD2201053792 Riga Radio Riga International in Latvian 2030 GMT 20 Jan 92

[Text] Currently, the real Armed Forces of the Latvian state are these: about 1,000 border guards, who do not actually have arms yet, have been trained. Ready for combat are about 10,000 home defense guards, who in fact are not armed. In the Supreme Council's Defense Guard service are about 400 people, well armed. Then there is also the Internal Affairs Ministry's system, in which about 15,000 officials are enrolled; they are to be armed; these include an escort duty regiment, not up to full strength. Soon a special police unit is due to be formed: a police battalion, a special task force of the criminal police. A special company of the criminal police already exists. Altogether these units will have about 450 people. In the long term the Latvian Armed Forces will consist of land, sea, and air border guards, as well as several mobile quick-reaction units. In the next few days the Ministry of Defense must create a basis on which simultaneously up to 8,000 men will be at the Army's disposal, said the former director of the Public Security department, Janis Baskers.

Defense Official Interviewed on State Security

LD2001103292 Riga Radio Riga International in Latvian 0530 GMT 11 Jan 92

[Interview with Peteris Simsons, chairman of the Commission for Defense and Internal Affairs of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Latvia, by correspondent Janis Podins; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Podins] As chairman of the commission for Defense and Internal Affairs in the parliament, you could perhaps tell me something about forming a security service of the republic of Latvia, forming our own security service. [passage omitted] What is your reply?

[Simsons] [passage omitted] The chief problem as I see it, is our attitude. The attitude of our people, of our citizens toward any kind of a security service in the majority of cases is negative. We imagine only the kind of security service like the former Cheka, with which, quite probably, 99 percent of our inhabitants were compelled to be indirectly in touch, because our life, well-being, career, and suchlike depended on this. [passage omitted] We all know that the security service is no longer engaged in guarding the government and the Supreme Council, as it was formerly. Each has its own guards. Is this better or worse—we may dispute this.

In future, the communications of the government will not be ensured by a security service. A separate communications service has been established at the communications department of the Ministry of Communications.

The functions which, as it were, purely belong to a security service: Well, these apply to information—collecting information, processing and analyzing information. By no means would the security service have any kind of repressive functions. [passage omitted] From what I remember of what Mr. Godmanis said when referring to the role of the new minister of state, there was talk about some kind of analysis of information, perhaps, and about some kind of prediction, but not in such an aspect that we might perhaps think that some kind of an intelligence service or something similar would be formed.

[Podins] Is there any such service which is engaged in analysis, observing those people, those forces which might sabotage the political and economic...[changes thought] well, to exacerbate all that process in Latvia. Is there such a service? Are there such people? I understand that you might not want to talk about them, but I understand that they have been operating for a long time.

[Simsons] Yes, of course there is such a service. A department of information has been formed at the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Also, the former Public Security Department has a certain information gathering function. The problem of who would work in this field is another matter, because we are facing a dilemma: Whether to have amateurs doing the work, people whom we are certain would work for the good of the people and of our state, or to involve professionals, about whom we may have doubts, or against whom we may have more subjective or more objective objections. This is another matter. Therefore, as a result of these complications, this service is only at the stage of being formed.

We were not able to take over automatically, as was done, let us say, by other republics. Armenia did this. They automatically took over the formation of the USSR State Security Service under the subordination of the republic, and they appointed their chief, with the same staff. I think our citizens will agree that this road is not for us.

Now we are facing a dilemma—where to train, how to prepare? We will of course do this, and we are doing this. No doubt a newspaper or the radio will at some time announce that such-and-such a number of people have gone away for training, or that from such-and-such a country instructors have arrived here who are training such-and-such a number of people. But in any event, there must be a certainty and conviction that appropriate officials and appropriate services operate, are thinking about this, and are developing.

Native Military Officers List Acquired

LD2201050292 Riga Radio Riga International in Latvian 2030 GMT 20 Jan 92

[Text] The Military attache at the Latvian Republic's representative office in Russia, Major General Alksnis, reports that a list of currently serving Latvian officers has been obtained from the former USSR Ministry of Defense. Together with naval officers, but without border guards, there are more than 500 names, with rank, occupation, and age. There are enough specialists to be able to organize training institutes, handle army supplies, [words indistinct] defense. [words indistinct] just recently Marshal Shaposhnikov signed an order, for example, for the release from duty of Colonel Dainis Turlajs. The former head of the Army Operations section in the Afghan war has agreed to cease teaching at the General Staff Academy and return to his former career to become commander in chief of the Latvian Army. Alksnis thinks that at the moment there are three main tasks to be done: form a new staff, create a border defense system, and provide training for soldiers and junior officers.

Russian Export Ban Seen as 'Economic Blockade'

LD1701152992 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1100 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Text] Economic war has started—that was the headline in today's Latvian newspaper DIENA. Yesterday journalists were informed that the Latvian Government had received a telegram signed by Gennadiy Burbulis that the Russian Government has prohibited the export without license of raw materials and goods to the three Baltic states. The prohibition is applied to over 1,100 kinds of goods and raw materials.

Latvian Government Minister Janis [name indistinct] evaluated this as an economic blockade.

License for Russian Gas Supply Not Issued

LD2001141992 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 0530 GMT 16 Jan 92

[Text] Latvia is receiving liquefied gas previously supplied by Bashkiria, because, in connection with the elimination of the corresponding structural units of the Union and their takeover under the authority of Russia, the license for supplying gas from Russia has not been issued. Therefore, a situation has arisen in which inhabitants are not receiving the gas in cylinders used in everyday life. The natural gas supplied by pipelines from the Incukalns reservoir can be used without restrictions. It is hoped that the situation regarding the gas in cylinders will be [word indistinct] next week.

Bashkiria Talks 'Promising'

LD2001140292 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 2300 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Text] As the government of Russia cannot ensure the proposed oil supplies to us, we have appealed to individual republics of the Russian Federation, Ivars Godmanis, Chairman of the republic Council of Ministers, stated at a news conference broadcast live on Latvian television. He said that the talks with Bashkiria on oil supplies were most promising.

The premier was skeptical about the proposal made by Latvia to use five oil wells in Tyumen oblast. He noted that the republic has been building roads in Tyumen oblast for several years and should have received at least 600,000 tonnes of oil in exchange for this. However, we have received only a small proportion of this,- 100,000 tonnes, Godmanis noted. He also said that contacts with Tyumen oblast are also complicated by the presence there of fighters of the former Riga OMON [special purpose militia detachments].

The premier added that there is a verbal agreement with the Russin leadership to allocate four to six per cent of northern oil exported through the Latvian maritime trade port of Ventspils.

Private Stocks Requisitioned

PM2101153792 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 Jan 92 First Edition p 5

[TASS-RIA report: "Latvia: Gasoline Requisitioned... at Contract Prices"]

[Text] For the purposes of overcoming the petroleum product crisis, the Latvian Council of Ministers has instructed enterprises and private firms that have acquired gasoline through their own channels to sell it to the government at contract prices. Commercial trade in gasoline is prohibited.

'White Money' Ready for Issue if Necessary

OW1701234792 Moscow BALTFAX in English 2137 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Latvian government is ready to start issuing the so-called "white money" (a kind of coupons) and has already worked out a concept of how to introduce them, economic reform minister Arnis Ralnins said to the daily DIENA. However, it will only be introduced if the government is unable to ensure regular supply of cash from Russia or if Russia introduces a new currency.

Riga RIA Office Attacked Second Time

LD1701201592 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Text] For the second time in two months there has been an attack in Riga on the Latvian branch of RIA. The police did not arrive at the scene for six hours. Through its secretary, the republic's Minister of Internal Affairs advised the RIA staff to write a report for first and then the police would sort things out.

Lithuania

Landsbergis Expounds on Soviet Troop Withdrawals

Interviewed on Decision

LD2001151792 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Russian 1300 GMT 14 Jan 92

[Interview granted by Lithuanian Supreme Council Chairman Vytautus Landsbergis to unidentified program announcer; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] The historical experience of Lithuania indicates that the presence of foreign troops on its territory has always presented a real threat to the independence of the republic. The official circles of Lithuania today favor the immediate withdrawal of troops of the former Soviet Union from its territory. However, under conditions of the collapse of the Soviet Union it is not clear who is to make the political decision on the withdrawal of the troops, and the dates of the withdrawal on the opposite side. Therefore, esteemed chairman of the Supreme Council [Landsbergis], according to you, who is authorized to decide this question: The political leadership of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States], of Russia, or the Supreme Command of the Armed Forces of the CIS?

[Landsbergis] I think that this isn't so much a political question, or even this is not a political issue at all, because the political question has already been solved. Absolutely so, and not only the entire world community but also the former Soviet Union, and prior to that, Russia, have recognized the restored independence of Lithuania, the further existence of the sovereign Lithuanian state. Everything else proceeds from this. There must be no presence of foreign troops, the more so, in that there are no legal grounds for this presence. They are simply present here de factor as an inheritance of the unhappy times and by the criminal decisions of Talins' leadership. All this has been inherited.

For some time we had a kind of practical problem—armed forces without a master. Currently everything is becoming clearer. I do not see in this—like some people say, or even as you mentioned—the collapse of the Soviet Union; this is not a collapse, it is a reorganization, or even perstroyka if you like, in the right direction. The Armed Forces of the former Soviet Union already have their leadership, and an address to which we can write in order to solve not the political but the technical aspect of the issue—how, when, within what period of time, and so on. Of course, we want to have a minimal period of time, the more so, taking the current situation, which is unthinkable when a mighty force, a foreign one, as well, is deployed in the capital city.

Now there is the Commonwealth and its leadership, or simply Russia, which declared in December that it is in charge of the Armed Forces deployed in the Baltic states. This is very good. Our relations with Russia are good and open, and I think that we will resolve this question.

[Announcer] General Mironov, commander of the Northwestern Group of Forces, said that the issue of the withdrawal of troops must be solved on the basis of a specific bilateral agreement between each Baltic state and Russia. Do you think this is an optimal version?"

[Landsbergis] Perhaps this is so. Perhaps there will be a slightly different approach dealing with the dates and problems. We do not have a naval fleet and, say, submarine bases [word indistinct] such as those in Estonia or Latvia. Perhaps we will have some other specific issues which will be easier to discuss separately between Lithuania and Russia than, let us say, between all the four. Therefore I do not see anything wrong with this approach. The issue is that both the military and the state leadership of Russia understood that the matter could not be postponed. This has to be decided, and it is necessary to start this process, and then various specific points will arise, such as our demand for compensation for the seized military equipment in 1940. Lithuania, like Latvia and Estonia had their own armed forces, and invested in them national property. We need such forces now, to serve the border, preserve order and so forth. But we have no equipment, so we should at least have compensation, decided immediately, for what was seized by the former Soviet Union.

[Announcer] The question of withdrawal of troops will take some time to be resolved. What will be Lithuania's policy during that period on foreign armed forces stationed on its territory?

[Landsbergis] We do not have bad relations. There are no conflict situations, and so we shall aspire to maintain these forces. Certain independent states are simply declaring these forces to be their property. We have a totally different attitude. We see them as alien, foreign forces, and we will look at them differently. There should be no conflicts of principle with the specific soldiers or officers. In law they are alien, occupation forces,. But we do not view these troops as hostile, the more so when they are (?mainly) from Russia, with which we are (?building) good relations. Even so, there are some practical problems connected with self-determination—let's put it that way—of the officer corps. Some of the officers and members of their families would like to be Lithuanian citizens in accordance with our legislation. Some want to enter civilian life and stay in Lithuania.

There is a growing number of Lithuanian officers from far-flung regions of the former Soviet Union. This still remains to be discussed.

[Announcer] What is your view on those who would like to stay here and adopt Lithuanian citizenship.

[Landsbergis] It depends on the occupation of these people at the moment. If they continue to serve in the Armed Forces, then a question may arise if it is legal for our citizens to serve in a foreign army? And namely, according to the law, they must not serve in the armed forces of foreign states, particularly without special permission. Therefore, such a question, on a legal basis, will arise.

[Announcer] Despite this, collegues from Russia's Radio informed us that they had information that apartments in which servicemen reside are allegedly being privatized by unauthorized people.

[Landsbergis] Nothing can be privatized by unauthorizd persons, especially if the servicemen themselves do not want to sell these apartments. The fact that the apartments are transfered to the jurisdiction and [word indistinct] of the local authorities creates the conditions for those families currently residing in them.

[Announcer] Including the families of servicemen?

[Landsbergis] That's right. These are the families of servicemen. Before, they were not the owners of these apartments, and now these families can make their own decisions. This is to the benefit of the families of the servicemen. If someone is throwing mud at this issue and spreading information of this nature in Russia, then—well, we are familiar with this method from earlier times. It is a pity it is still in use.

What is absolutely inadmissible is the introduction of new contingents. This has been observed of late, and was a great surprise to us. We were even (?filled with indignation) [words indistinct] or to make a protest.

[Announcer] This had not been coordinated with the government of Lithuania and its leadership?

[Landsbergis] That's right. It was not coordinated, and neither was the strange announcement of maneuvers, which was also made without asking for such maneuvers to be conducted on our sovereign territory. It is now becoming clear that perhaps there isn't such an official under whose signature the telegram was sent. Is this another provocation, is it a forgery of some sort? This will be investigated by the military leadership.

Such difficulties, this type of slipping toward a conflict, small though it may be, is absolutely unnecessary.

'Still Unsolved Issue'

LD1701212292 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1400 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Regular Friday radio address by Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Council—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] There are dangers to us and to Russia from the same source—the still unsolved issue of the former Soviet Army. We see it from our window: what will they do here in Lithuania, are they going to move, hold exercises without asking for our permission? This time we have shown that it is essential to ask our permission. The movements of would-be provocateurs have been stopped, they returned to their places.

This concerns not only Lithuania. Some commanders of the former Soviet Army still imagine that there exists some Union, a single large state and they would like to maintain a single large army so that with the help of this army they will regain that large state and restore it as a single state.

Of course, such a danger would be danger to the whole world. Let us hope that there will be no such attempts. But anything can happen, evidently, and we must be concerned and cautious both in our policies and in our relations with military units.

We have domestic troubles and tensions because of the reform which is taking place in Lithuania, that is, economic reform, privatization, and agrarian reform. Many people from outside say that things are progressing quite well in our country and faster than in the neighboring countries. Some neighbors look on with envy and wish to learn from us. But it often seems to us that things are progressing too slowly, that there are many obstacles. We see these in Lithuania, in the actions of the officials. We see various kinds of injustice, we see plundering, thefts.

One thinks how to resist it. But there exists an old custom among people—wait until some high authority comes from Vilnius to the rayon, parish, or village and introduces order. There is as yet little determination to resist wrongs and maintain order by ourselves. On the other hand, there exists impatience and tension and there are people to incite this impatience and tension. The former activists of the Burokevicius party and old KGB officials who maintain their agents and their connections have not lost hope. We have read in the press that the notorious KGB man, Naudziunas, is returning to Lithuania to save it from some dangers. He was saving it a year ago, in January last year, when he even set up a salvation committee. God forbid, that such bloodshed and such provocations will take place again in Lithuania.

We must look around and remember how things used to be a few years ago and how we used to live locked up, without any hope of change. We can see what is happening in Russia and other neighboring states, what difficulties have been encountered by Estonia, which used to be praised, and then, maybe, we will be aware of the fact that not everything in Lithuania is only bad and black, as is maintained by some newspapers or by some faint-hearted people who say: "We are perishing, it is bad, bankruptcy. We heard this two years ago, before the proclamation of independence, then during the first Soviet blockade. Since we did not perish then, we are not going to perish now. [passage omitted]

I am certain that the future belongs to toil and to the workers in each sphere, discipline, and to looking toward the future of our country, not towards one's own small concerns. This feeling is present in Lithuania. People, when they think, know from where we have come and in which direction we are advancing.

On Yeltsin Meeting

LD2001221292 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1430 GMT 18 Jan 92

[Remarks by Supreme Council Chairman Vytautus Landsbergis on his talks with Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin in Moscow 17 January at a news conference moderated by press attache Audrius Azubalis at the Supreme Council in Vilnius on 18 January—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Landsbergis] The list of the issues was very extensive and we solved them speedily and, I may say, in the spirit of complete mutual understanding. [passage omitted]

The second important topic, and it was started by Boris Yeltsin himself, was military affairs and the pullout of the Army. He reported that Russia has officially stated in a decision, in a presidential decree, that the former Soviet Army deployed in the Baltic states was being taken into Russia's juridiction. Military people are now responsible to the Russian government in accordance with Russia's laws. But this does nor mean that they are not responsible to the laws of Lithuania or any other sovereign state.

Boris Yeltsin further agreed, in the documents, while discussing the Army, to refer to it as one that is to be withdrawn, an army to be withdrawn from Lithuania. The procedure and certain dates for the withdrawal itself will be set by the joint commission which begins work next week. It has been given one month to agree on the order of the Army's withdrawal.

Of course, we did not predict how much time the withdrawal of the Army itself will take. We agreed yesterday on how much time should be allotted for reaching an agreement concerning the order. Our demand, which we expressed last year to a government that was no longer functioning, to have the Army withdrawn from Vilnius, was also recognized. It was agreed that no divisions or similar armed forces of another country will be left in the center of Vilnius. That priority was accepted.

Boris Yeltsin and the Russian delegation expressed something understood by all of us, i.e., the withdrawal of the Army is connected with its stable maintenance in the new location. That especially concerns the housing of officers' families and the provision of those [word indistinct] which remain here temporarily. It goes without saying that the entire Army can not be withdrawn at the same time, in one day. Purchases of supplies or possible purchases also cause concern, not only for the military leadership directly, but also for the Russian leadership, because additional tensions may devleop because of them. It is necessary to avoid them.

Therefore it is noted in the communique [words indistinct] that understandably we are not going to discontinue the supplies of food, electricity [words indistinct] on establishing. Compensation for these services will be be included directly, following appropriate accounting, into the economic relations agreements between Lithuania and Russia.

The resolution of the social questions: construction of officers' housing in Russia will be the goal of further agreements between us. We discussed the possibilities of constructing in Russia, or or in some other [word indistinct] while we would to help with the work force and materials.

A separate question, involved in the entire withdrawal of that military complex, involves anti-aircraft defense units, in which Russia is especially interested because they are carrying out defense functions here, which will be necessary [words indistinct]. It would take a lot of time to install them outside Lithuania's borders. Apparently, we will have special deliberations on this concerning the possibility of our side providing Russia a service of that nature. We also touched on the supplying of Lithuanian Territorial Defense Forces and border institution services and how Russia could help. We have agreed on this, right there on the spot, concerning the handing over of our sea border. the deputy defense minister, General Grachev, will arrive in Lithuania soon and we will discuss both questions—the transfer of sea border control and questions of air space control. Lithuania's air space must also be transferred to us.

We have agreed very quickly that we shall arrive at positive solutions on the needs of Konigsberg Region Lithuanians. [passage omitted]